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NOTICE TO READERS: On 6 May 1991, the DAILY REPORT will begin phasing in new radio and television sourcelines that reflect how a station identifies itself. This change eliminates the "Domestic Service" and "Television Service" designations in favor of the station identification as broadcast. The presence of a new sourceline reflects this change in policy, rather than the establishment of a new station or network.

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Alia Discusses SFRY Situation; Army on Alert

AU1305192691 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Albanian President Ramiz Alia received at his office this morning Nevzat Halili, chairman of Macedonia's Party for Democratic Prosperity [PPD], and this party's delegation that is paying a short visit to our country.

President Alia welcomed his guests and hailed the PPD's effective work to affirm itself as a political force with popular support. He expressed his thanks to the PPD's chairman for his party's kind and fraternal attitude toward recent events and developments in Albania. This, he said, is a form of constructive help toward carrying forward these developments on a democratic path.

After expressing thanks for the warm welcome accorded to him everywhere in Albania, the PPD chairman provided the president with a picture of the situation in Yugoslavia and beyond.

President Alia went on to say that our region is passing through highly dangerous times. I am bearing in mind here the situation in Yugoslavia, which not only the politicians of Europe but Yugoslavia's own officials describe as explosive. It is on the brink of civil war. There are calls for weapons and the Army. Such a situation seriously imperils peace and stability in the Balkans and throughout the continent. Those most threatened are the Albanians, primarily those within Yugoslavia's borders, but also those beyond. We are following with concern this situation that involves the destiny of Yugoslavia, but which could also possibly strike at Yugoslavia's neighbors. What is demanded of us is that we should be vigilant at all costs, and not be surprised at the events that may happen. Aware of these dangers, we in the Republic of Albania have taken the necessary measures. We have placed the Army on a state of alert. We are working to make it clear to everybody what consequences the possible course of events in Yugoslavia may mean for us as a country and a people. Now more than ever, our country needs unity. Albania needs work. Division and passivity in this situation seriously harm our national interests. In the times through which we are passing, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed, the Albanians of Kosovo and other parts of Yugoslavia need prudence and unity, to cope with the unexpected and to protect themselves from the traps and provocations of which there has never been any shortage, and which could cost the entire Albanian people dearly on both sides of the border.

Nevzat Halili and the other members of the delegation said that this analysis of the situation in Yugoslavia corresponds to the painful reality prevailing there. Our party, he went on, is striving for national freedom, without which no civil freedom exists. In our activities so far, we have devoted most attention to the national cause, but the Albanian people in Macedonia differ little from the Albanians in other parts of Yugoslavia, and a single policy brewed in the same kitchen is being applied against them. We have raised our voice against the flagrant violations of the Albanians' human rights that take place wherever they live in Yugoslavia. The PPD, its chairman said, congratulates the president of the Republic of Albania on his election to this high office. We, he underlined, are interested in seeing developments in Albania proceed in peace and your presence as head of state is a guarantee of this.

The meeting took place in a fraternal atmosphere.

Tirana Reports Foreign Minister's Talks in London

AU1405083191 Tirana ATA in English 0810 GMT 14 May 91

[Text] Tirana, May 14 (ATA)—The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania Muhamet Kapllani, who is in London and accompanies the Premier Fatos Nano in his visit in the Bank of Europe for Reconstruction and Development (BERD) [EBRD], met in the Foreign Office with the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Douglas Hogg. During the meeting, attended also by the Under Secretary of State Weston and his assistant Michael Tait, they discussed on the actual stage of normalization of relations between the two countries. Both parties were of the same opinion that this process is already in its final stage. The British party committed for a rapid reply regarding the proclamation of the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries and the completion of talks on contestable matters.

Former Leaders Lose Privileged Housing

AU1405085891 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 8 May 91 p 3

[Naim Zoto article: "The Compound: Disillusionment and a Lesson"]

[Text] In a way, it is embarrassing to count someone else's mouthfuls of food or to measure the area of the home where he lives. It becomes a much more delicate matter when you are forced to do this for the former leaders of the country, those whom—until recently—you used to applaud at meetings and rallies, respecting and honoring them.

I think that the state commission that recently embarked on its inventory of the furniture and effects of the compound is sensitive to this difficulty. Anyway, we are human beings before we are obscure or prominent, poor or privileged. However, is there any room for sentimentalism here, especially today? We think that it was precisely excessive sentimentality in this matter that led us to where we are now, turning the social problem of the so-called "leadership compound" into a political problem, and leading to the bitter confrontations of the events of February. The compound became a worry first of all for the Albanian Workers Party itself, and then for

ordinary and honest communists. It was the first and indefensible target of the opposition, which even used it as a political "trump card."

The people did not create and could not have created the compound. The party and state bureaucracy created it for their own use, forgetting as they assumed such great privileges that they faced equally great dangers. According to a feudal and Anatolian way of thinking, the special treatment or privileges that normally belong to a party or state personality were extended to cover entire families, including sons- and daughters-in-law, brothers and sisters, children, nephews, and nieces, as if they too contributed to the country's leadership. (?!) In some districts, we have seen a daughter or daughter-in-law of a leader "honoring with her presence" a formal lunch or dinner marking an anniversary alongside the former Politburo member and the district first secretary.

It was the people who first called for the dismantling of the compound. Did our people not know how to respect their own leaders? This is not in their traditions. Our people still today have the greatest respect for these personalities—living or dead—whether they are in power, hold some other office, or have retired. However, our people were able to distinguish their true representatives from the sycophants, frauds, and self-servers who forgot where they came from and who it was that put them where they were. Our people distinguished those who heeded and stood up for the voice of the people from the demagogues, who stopped their ears with wax in their villas when the people demanded truth and justice. The public rightly asked why the compound was not dismantled and why it is necessary to issue decisions on such a matter. Are the warnings, letters, and petitions not enough? Is it not enough that this problem was raised long ago in many party basic organizations and collectives? Did these comrades not understand the exceptional harm they were doing to the party and its ties with the people? Of course, ordinary people's rations and levels of prosperity would not be increased by the few kilograms of meat and the villas and cars that the people of the compound would surrender. However, it seems that meanness proved stronger than party-mindedness. Everything was turned upside down, just as every excess and every breach of legality, justice, and morality then runs to the opposite extreme. It was not the people and the masses who returned love and respect with ingratitude. Respect and love must be mutual. The people forgive mistakes and ignorance, but they do not forgive injustice and hypocrisy. Decrees and orders inevitably followed. The Council of Ministers, on the instructions of the new prime minister, Fatos Nano, ordered the immediate breakup of the compound. It was a kind of inevitable expropriation.

To report more accurately, we received a statement from the director of the Office for Citizens' Services in connection with the enforcement of this decree, the deadline of which was 15 March.

Most of the compound's villas, about 15 of them, have been used to meet the needs of different citizens. In all, 25 families of prominent party and state officials were housed in the so-called compound. Xh. Spahiu, H. Celiku, M. Myftiu, H. Toska, P. Kondi, L. Cuko, H. Isai, A. Carcani, N. Hoxha, and B. Bekteshi have been moved out of the compound and housed in ordinary apartments. Another group has been housed within the compound, but with living space according to the size of the families. These include V. Kapo, R. Marko, P. Peristeri, Q. Mihali, and K. Mustaqi. The criteria for their housing have been the same as for ordinary citizens. However, we have encountered obstacles and worries. For instance, Pali Miska has refused to leave the compound, claiming a floor of a villa because of the size of his family, although the Executive Committee has offered him several choices. Similarly, Themie Thomai is not surrendering a floor of the villa in which she lives, which has been officially allocated to the citizen Rifat Teqja, who has been in difficult straits for the last two months. Prokop Murra is expected to be housed outside the compound in the next few days. As for the districts, where there were some villas under state administration, V. Cerrava has surrendered one-half of his apartment to another citizen. There is concern in Durres, where Muho Asllani is still holding on to a state villa.

How can we comment on such attitudes? Lenka Cuko and Pali Miska have refused three or four apartments that the District Executive Committee has placed at their disposal. What are such comrades trying to tell the people by such attitudes? The people suffered, and they did not listen to them. Now the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers have made a decision, and they do not wish to see it enforced. Can this be tolerated any longer?

The compound has been destroyed. It was a lesson and a disaster. One wonders whether, after this, the leaders of our political parties and state administration will sport fine earrings. Let us see. Life and politics have moved on.

'Reassessment of History' Urged

AU1205204891 Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian 1 May 91 p 2

[Guro Zeneli article: "On the Application of Socialism in Our Country"]

[Text] According to the official propaganda spread in our country for years on end, the world was viewed and classified in only two colors: black and white. As a result, socialism was brilliant and wonderful, and capitalism was vilified and became a bugaboo with nothing commendable in it. However, after a few years the day came when people did not even themselves believe what they told others. The moment came when belief wavered, and was lost.

No social phenomenon is perfect. Even socialism has its defects. These defects of socialism were exaggerated even

further by the way in which socialism was conceived and applied in our country. These defects are significant, and today's political and economic crisis is a direct result of the kind of socialism that was applied in Albania.

Look at the results today:

In the economy, extreme industrial and agricultural destitution has been created throughout the country and in the life of the people.

Human rights and freedoms were restricted and reduced to the point of the prohibition of the free circulation of ideas, speech, and writing, and the free movement of people within the country and abroad.

The exaggerated ideologization and politicization of every aspect of human life seriously restricted and crippled human consciousness and impoverished the human spirit.

Dogmatic centralism thwarted the fertile imagination of the intelligentsia and young people, using all the means of monist propaganda, including bizarre slogans, to blunt the creative energies of an entire people.

Today, we see this extreme economic destitution at the level of family life. In the majority of families, living standards are very low, and not even intellectual families can eke out their salaries to the end of the two-week pay period. More than one-third of all Albanian families live below the subsistence level. Moreover, the market has been virtually empty not only for a year or two, but for many years. This is clear from the lines we have stood in for many years for almost all food products. We continue to get up before dawn and stand for hours on end in these frustrating but necessary lines for milk, eggs, and even industrial products that one is reluctant to mention. This is true not only of the towns, because the lines have even stretched to the villages, and peasants are largely left without dairy products, cheese, and even eggs, because their hens were taken away from them. In the history of the governments of the world, there is no parallel to the Albanian Government's decision in 1981 to ban semi-wild hens in villages. It took many years until 1989 before the government took the "historic" decision, no less ominous and absurd: "One kid goat for you, one kid goat for me, and the hide for me, the state." I do not believe that such a decree has its parallel anywhere on this globe. All these decrees, which now seem so amazing to us, were "approved" with the total "unity" of the people. Let everyone just think how "drugged" our people were, with a "drug" that brought fear and a struggle for survival. Then a day came when we became disillusioned with this kind of socialism.

In theory, socialism has its good points, but because of the way it was applied in our country, many people have developed an allergy toward it. This is primarily because socialism is evident in the market every day. It is evident in the economic situation of the vast majority of our families. It is evident in the "zero" incomes we earn after 20-30 years of work. It is evident in the entire political and economic crisis that has enveloped our country and in the crisis of moral confidence in the Albanian Workers Party itself.

As one looks at the dire situation, especially in recent years, an obvious question spontaneously arises: How is it possible that the government did not see and understand the situation and its future, or where the Albanian economy was heading?! Why was it unable to take preventive measures?! Was it a matter of contrived euphoria, to stay in power?! Or had dogma so befuddled and petrified the minds of the government that it was unable to see the truth?!...

People now say under their breath that the economy reached an extreme state as early as 1978, when relations with China were broken and the slogan of total self-isolation was announced, "We will build socialism relying entirely on our own resources." Unemployment rose to the not insignificant figure of 50,000, besides the one-fourth of the work force that is, to say the least, only notionally employed. Inflation in fact exists, but the figures are not supplied. Political and economic emigration is familiar, but nothing is being done about it. This, then, is where the policy of economic centralism, so consistently applied in our country, has led.

Someone might complain: Don't be a nihilist! Perhaps! However, this time I am at least talking and writing as a journalist about what I have seen with my own eyes, without making comparisons with developed Europe. Someone else might say that the economy has failed not only in Albania, but also in the countries of the East and the Soviet Union. This is true. Comparative data from West Europe and East Europe, West Germany and East Germany, South Korea and North Korea, Greece and Bulgaria, also support this logic. Thus, practice, as the criterion of truth, shows that socialism applied in our country, I say it with pain, failed! You might call this a zigzag, but what can one do, faced with the experience of these countries?

Let us suppose for a moment that this socialism is a good thing. All right! It has its good points, but our experience and the entire developed world argue against it and declare that the socialism of the East, at least as it was applied in our country, failed. Will we Albanians therefore continue to defend this socialism?! Will we persist in behaving differently from the rest of the world? The world and mankind preserve what is good, and even seize it by force. It cannot be imposed on them by others. It is in the nature of man not to move from the good to the bad, but from the bad to the good. Therefore the slogan won: We want Albania to be like the whole of Europe! This socialism produced major failures, especially in the economy, and led to disillusion and loss of faith in the socialism proposed by Marx and Engels, whose rational ideas, it seems, have been better exploited by Western countries.

Official propaganda prettified the dire situation, and displayed reality not as it was, but as it should be

according to the theories of "creative Marxism," to inflate the cult of the leadership. Real mistakes and shortcomings were not mentioned in public, or even at party meetings, conferences, and bombastic congresses. Benefits and successes were embellished, even when they were minimal and insignificant. When the time came to mention shortcomings, they were blamed on the times or on fictitious or imaginary internal and external enemies. People submitted to this "logic," because anybody who said anything different was immediately judged, exposed, and condemned and all the harsh law of the class war, the law on agitation and propaganda, and other methods, were used against him. The consequences did not fall merely on the person concerned, but on his kith and kin down to the third generation. This is how the struggle to gag people's mouths was waged, so that an underling said and wrote what his chief wanted. An entire people had to think and act in this way, and even the entire world had to either bow to the thinking of "the chief of Albania," or become "bourgeois and revisionist," take a "crooked and mistaken road," and become "hostile." We alone were on the right road. (?!)

This struggle was accompanied by a struggle to restrict the free circulation of ideas and to limit movement. Thus the right to speak out and the right of movement was reduced to a minimum.

Favoritism in cadre policy, especially in the last 10-20 years, also aggravated the failures in our country, and appointed to the country's foremost leadership and to the districts many incompetent, uneducated, and uncultured cadres, whose only purpose was to say "Amen," to raise their hands as a matter of form, and to show a kind of "unity in thought and action" that was mere conformism. These cadres, although their incompetence was very quickly evident to the public, nevertheless "preserved" a monopoly of knowledge of the state and its political and economic life, and held the destinies of an entire people in their hands.

We have written all this not for its own sake, but to ask a vital question: Will the ruling party, or, more accurately, its leadership, continue to defend the kind of socialism that it applied, or will it learn a lesson and show Albanian courage in admitting its responsibility, performing an act of genuine self-criticism in front of the masses of working people, and dissociating itself from all the errors of the past? Will there or will there not be a reassessment of the history of this sectarian socialism, with a clear and convincing explanation of everything that was done but should not have been done and what was not done but should have been done, that tells the truth as it is, and not as it is claimed to be?

Friendship Association With Soviet Union Formed

AU1405073591 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 5 May 91 p 1

[ATA report: "Albanian-Soviet Friendship Association Formed"]

[Text] An initiating group from the city of Vlore and from Tirana has created the Albanian-Soviet Friendship Association [Shoqata e Miqesise Shqiperi-Bashkimi Sovjetik]. The association will help to strengthen the ties of friendship between the Albanian people and the people of the Soviet Union, to spread knowledge of the history, culture, traditions, and achievements in different fields of economic and social development of the Soviet and Albanian peoples, and to develop friendly cooperation between Albania and the Soviet Union in fields of mutual interest.

Strikes Reported in Mat, Fier, Kukes, Lezhe

AU1005110891 Tirana PUNA in Albanian 3 May 91 p 1

[Ali Lleshi report: "One Strike After Another: The Bureaucrats Sit in Their Offices, The Economy 'Progresses' Downhill"]

[Text] The number of enterprises where work stops because of a failure to meet workers' demands for better working and living conditions grows with every passing day. The demands being made upon the government by different working collectives are easy to solve and are sometimes even minimal. However, the government is silent. Is it silent because it is merely called a working government? The workers can put up with no more. The government seems to partially fulfill some demands and finds this sufficient. For instance, one may cite the case of the miners' strike at Bater and Kraste. The government met a fair proportion of the miners' demands, but the ship was spoiled for a ha'porth of tar when they were told: The entire government and state are incapable of finding five buses. Meanwhile, the economy suffers together with the people. So far, in the 15 days of the work stoppage at the mine, the country has lost $750,000, if we calculate on the basis of a minimum loss of $50,000 per day.

What happened at Kraste is also happening in other enterprises around the country. Let us mention some of the enterprises that have stopped work, and describe briefly their demands and the government's response.

At Kraste Mine

After lengthy talks at the Ministry of Mines and Energy, the strike committee returned to Kraste with its demands partially met. The miners attended a meeting held by the Workers Supply Enterprise to determine accountability, and themselves dismissed the managers of all the enterprise's branches. Nevertheless, they continued their strike, insisting on their main demand for 16 buses before resuming work. So far only 11 buses have arrived at Burrel. Five more are needed. Qerim Ribaj, the main Albanian Workers Party leader in the district, as a leader of the ruling party, has still done nothing to quench the fire. He has still not gone to Kraste. What do such officials do, if they are not even ruffled by such a long work stoppage, at a time when our economy is accelerating toward the abyss?

The Fier Artistic Rug Enterprise

Work has also been at a standstill here since 15 April. The workers have submitted economic demands. Directors at the Ministry of Light Industry have supported these demands and have asked the workers to resume work until the laws preventing fulfillment of these demands are changed. We talked to Natasha Lloshi, the chairwoman of the enterprise's trade union council, and she gave us the following explanation:

"We have demanded that the workers should be given 100 percent of above-plan profits. We have asked for a six-hour working day, and for cuts in the administration. Only the last demand has been acted on. There are 1,200 workers on strike. The government must show more skill. We know that both we and the state are suffering from the recent losses, but we can stand no more. The state and the government should not remain silent, and should act faster. We will not give up without winning our rights."

The Kukes Assorted Products Enterprise

Work has resumed after a five-day strike at this enterprise on the condition that the workers' demands are met by 15 May. We talked to Have Tocilla, who is also chairwoman of the strike committee.

"We returned to work because we received a telex from the Ministry of Light Industry on 27 April, stating that our demands would be met by the end of May. We discussed this telex with the workers and decided to return to work and to wait until 15 May. None of us wants a work stoppage, but what can you do? The government turns a deaf ear to even the smallest requests we workers submit."

The Lezhe Forestry Enterprise

All the workers of this enterprise assembled yesterday in the yard of the management office and did not go to work. The reason was the decision made by the working government on 17 April, instructing this enterprise to move from its present site to another site about 30 minutes from the town. This caused indignation among all the workers, not simply because their workplace was to be moved, but because these people have worked heart and soul at the present site to create a tree nursery and to build drying sheds and many other facilities, and if the move takes place they will have to start from scratch again. They have sent a petition about this to both the Ministry of Agriculture and the prime minister's office. The secretary of the Agricultural Trade Union Federation has also gone to the ministry in support of their demands.

A Few Words...

I think that the government should move at once to cope with the ills of the times. On the other hand, the workers should be tolerant until the new government is elected. At present, the country is only "progressing" toward catastrophe. Should we therefore encourage or retard this progress? We congratulate the Kukes workers who showed their tolerance of the alternative offered by the government of meeting their demands by the end of May. I think that we should proceed further with this kind of debate and dialogue with mutual concessions. To issue demands for one right or another that belongs to you does not mean that your demands will be met item by item in the way you want. The most vital demands are met first, and so on, in order. For its part, the government should increase to the maximum its efforts for the most effective measures to "nip" strikes "in the bud."

Berisha Speaks at Fier Democratic Party Meeting

AU1305135091 Tirana ATA in English 0845 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Tirana, May 13 (ATA)—On May 12, the Democratic Party [DP] branch of Fier District organised in "Bylis" theatre hall a meeting with intellectuals, as well as with its members and sympathizers of this district.

The meeting was opened by the head of the district DP branch, Viktor Margilaj.

The chairman of the Democratic Party Steering Commission, Dr. Sali Berisha, taking the floor at this meeting, said among other things that in the March 31 elections the Democratic Party scored a partial but historic and qualitative victory. It had a total victory where it concentrated its forces, mainly in the big cities, whereas the countryside lacked the necessary propaganda work during the electoral campaign, therefore, he said, an intensified work should be done there to acquaint its inhabitants with the program of the Democratic Party. In this relation, he said, it is required that the role of the intellectuals in making known this program be intensified. Likewise he spoke of proceedings of the People's Assembly and the stands of the DP deputies especially on the program of the new government and its composition.

At the end, Dr. Sali Berisha answered the numerous questions of the participants.

Alia Receives IMF Delegation

AU1205145791 Tirana ATA in English 0814 GMT 12 May 91

[Text] Tirana, May 12 (ATA)—On May 11 afternoon, Ramiz Alia, president of the Republic of Albania, received at his seat the second mission of the International Monetary Fund, headed by Prof. Mario Blayer.

President Ramiz Alia had a warm and friendly talk with them. He explained to them the difficulties our country

is actually undergoing in this period of transition from a centralized economy to a market economy. Actually there exist two difficulties, the president said. The first—an objective one, which is related to the economic crisis our country is undergoing and our people should be aware of this crisis. The second difficulty is subjective, which stems from the lack of knowledge on the part of our specialists, as we are on a stage of development when transformations are carried out in every field and we have undertaken an economic, political and social reform. Now, in the conditions of a pluralist state, to make changes in politics might be easier, whereas in economy is much more difficult. Ramiz Alia evaluated the aid of the mission of the International Monetary Fund and its experience.

Prof. Mario Blayer, after thanking President Ramiz Alia for the reception, aired his consideration for the friendly cooperation with the Albanian specialists and his commitment to contribute to the process of Albania's membership in the International Monetary Fund.

During the meetings views were exchanged on the stabilization of the situation in our country and on the roads to go forwards, on the greater role Albanian State Bank should play in all the state, economic organisms as well as in the fiscal system as a step to be made as soon as possible where it is necessary.

Attending the reception were the director general of the Albanian State Bank, Niko Gjyzari, and the vice-minister of finances, Anastas Angjeli.

President Zhelev Views Political Scene

PM1305150291 Madrid ABC in Spanish 5 May 91 pp 40, 41

[Interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by Ramon Luis Acuna in Sofia; date not given]

[Text] [Acuna] Mr. President, do you totally rule out a coup d'etat or a return to an authoritarian regime in Bulgaria?

[Zhelev] I believe that we will not return to a totalitarian system; I rule out such an eventuality. But I do not rule out a military intervention if things become complicated. It is possible. As I see it, the same applies to all the countries of the former socialist camp. In Bulgaria at the moment there is no direct threat of a military coup d'etat; let us say that it is not a topical issue, not on the agenda. But, I repeat, if the situation deteriorates, we cannot discard the possibility of a coup. Such a threat does exist.

[Acuna] Bulgaria is planning to sign a bilateral treaty with the Soviet Union. Will geopolitics force it to maintain relations with the Soviet Union similar to those that existed before?

[Zhelev] No. They will never be the same again. We were, unfortunately, known as the Soviet Union's most loyal satellite, but since the democratic changes our relations have been based on principles of equality. Now we are no longer any kind of satellite, but an independent country. Having said that, we must sign a bilateral cooperation and security agreement with the Soviet Union, which we will do in a month or two. I do not know whether you knew that over 65 percent of our trade is with that nation...

[Acuna] Previously the KGB had more room to maneuver in Bulgaria than in the Soviet Union itself. Does it still act entirely freely here?

[Zhelev] Indeed. Previously it could do anything here; it was entirely at home. Now it is different. Our security services are led by a well-known senior official who maintains the same relations with the KGB as with similar bodies in Britain, France, or the United States. So officially no intervention by a foreign security organ is possible in our country. Clandestinely, however, I am not sure, because ties such as those which used to exist cannot be severed in one go. Perhaps...

[Acuna] In this connection, what results have been reached in the investigation that you promised into the Bulgarian secret services' involvement in the attempt to murder Pope John Paul II?

[Zhelev] There are no results yet. Checks are being carried out in our security services' records. An international committee of politicians, intellectuals, and experts has been set up, and it is examining these documents and others in other countries. Whatever the truth, we are the first to want full light to be shed on this matter.

[Acuna] What is your personal opinion concerning the "Bulgarian connection"?

[Zhelev] It is very dangerous to express final conclusions in advance. At one time I was sure that there was indeed Bulgarian involvement in the murder plot, and at another time I doubted it. Be that as it may, we must be quick. This May it will be 10 years since the attempted murder.

[Acuna] The Warsaw Pact has disbanded. Who actually defends Bulgaria's borders now?

[Zhelev] The USSR was the second guarantor of our national defense, after ourselves. With the democratic changes, it is necessary to seek other forms of security. As I see it, external security depends primarily on internal security, internal peace, and this in turn depends on the balances of political forces and ethnic groups. Of course, security also depends on our neighbors, and we will try to sign bilateral treaties with all of them—Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Romania. We also have great hopes of the CSCE, which necessitates the proper mechanisms and bodies, but which must provide real guarantees in security matters to small countries such as Bulgaria.

[Acuna] Should the Warsaw Pact continue in another form, as the Soviet Union says?

[Zhelev] No. It must cease to exist completely. It has already done so in the military sphere, and it must also do so in the political sphere.

[Acuna] Do you consider it desirable for NATO to embrace the Eastern countries, and especially Bulgaria?

[Zhelev] Some Bulgarian deputies advocate Bulgaria's membership of NATO, but I believe that this is impossible at the moment. NATO, in its present form, must not embrace the former socialist countries. Furthermore, it does not want to, as has been seen with the Poles, Czechoslovaks, and Hungarians. Perhaps if it changes its character, if it binds itself to other continental institutions, it can serve as a guarantor of the military security of the democratic changes.

[Acuna] Is CEMA—the old eastern economic agreement, which has not yet been dismantled—any use?

[Zhelev] No. It must be dismantled. This is our opinion and Czechoslovakia's, Poland's, Hungary's... It has no future. It must be replaced by bilateral relations, that's all.

[Acuna] Would you like Bulgaria to be a member of the Community some day?

[Zhelev] It will be a long process. We do have hopes, though not immediate ones. We are seeking association accords, but we have no illusions about accession in the near future.

[Acuna] Particularly because Bulgaria's reforms in the direction of a market economy are slow. So much so that they are even irritating the population.

[Zhelev] I do not entirely agree with that. We started implementing market economy measures at the beginning of the year, proceeding from the derestriction of prices and freedom in the money market. We have also set in motion the demonopolization and decentralization of the economy. We have introduced a law on private ownership and on returning land to its former owners, which is something that the Hungarians, for instance, have not yet done. Another law on foreign investments is planned. All that is left is a law on privatization.

[Acuna] Does Bulgaria embody enough of the positive features of economic freedom to be able to request credits from the European Reconstruction and Development Bank?

[Zhelev] Mr. Attali's bank? But it has only just been established! As far as I know, we have not yet requested any loans from it, but I am sure that they will grant us loans later.

[Acuna] The great domestic debate in Bulgaria now is whether or not there should be early elections.

[Zhelev] First, the constitution and promulgation of economic laws must be completed; then, elections. Technically, they cannot be in June. They are appropriate, because the people are no longer in tune with this legislature. But they must be held later. In the fall, for instance, perhaps in September.

[Acuna] Mr. President, a French Communist leader, Mr. Georges Marchais, has said that in his opinion communism's record is "positive overall." Do you agree with this conclusion? What is the record of communism in a country such as Bulgaria?

[Zhelev] Who can say that communism's record worldwide is positive? You cannot say that. It is irresponsible. The whole present disastrous economic, political, and moral situation in the East is due to communism, and inevitably stems from the implementation of communist ideas. As far as Bulgaria is concerned, the same must be said. You can see it yourself here in Sofia. Communism has brought us to disaster after 45 years of dictatorship. It is communism's fault that we find ourselves in a very difficult situation and we are having to make incredible efforts to get out of it. The people are suffering great deprivations, and having to bear distressing sacrifices—and not only part of the population, but almost the entire country. This is the objective result of the communist system; there is no other. Yes, it is true that during this period of history heavy industry, which did not exist before, was introduced to the country, but at the same time agriculture was destroyed.

[Acuna] The dictator Todor Zhivkov, is on trial. Do you believe that this will be a trial of the communist system in Bulgaria?

[Zhelev] Zhivkov represents a totalitarian state, and the verdict on him is not only addressed to him but extends to the ruling group, the Politburo, the Central Committee—all those who held power, the people responsible for the situation that was created and that we are now suffering.

[Acuna] Will there be further trials of other people or will Bulgaria confine itself to trying a single man?

[Zhelev] There are other trials of people personally connected with the crimes committed. Thus, for instance, regarding the murder of the Bulgarian writer, Markov, in the London subway—known as the "Bulgarian umbrella" case, because of the nature of the weapon used—the people involved will be tried. The same will be done with the authorities responsible for the campaign to "Bulgarianize" the patronymics of Bulgarian Turks and for their forcible integration. It is necessary. All this is necessary to cleanse the country of the crimes committed, to advance toward the future without obstacles, and to reform our politics.

[Acuna] Many Bulgarians say that the charges that Zhivkov has to answer are insignificant if set against his high political responsibilities as dictator.

[Zhelev] I do not believe so. The charges are misappropriation of funds and misuse of power of a very serious nature and on a very large scale; these are not minor offenses.

[Acuna] Is Spain's political transition useful to you as an example? Has it provided you with any ideas to implement in Bulgaria?

[Zhelev] There has been much talk here about Spain's transition. Many comparisons have been drawn. But there is a very major difference. We are moving from a communist totalitarian regime to democracy; in Spain the starting point was a totalitarian regime that was originally fascist. In fascism totalitarianism occurs "only" in the state superstructure; totalitarianism does not extend to the grassroots and, above all, it does not reach the economic base. In a communist dictatorship totalitarianism, state monopoly, extends everywhere and throughout the economy. So the parallel is incorrect. It is easier to make the change to liberal democracy in dictatorships such as Spain's than in communist authoritarian regimes. In the former only the superstructure had to be changed; in ours the most difficult change is precisely that in the economy, which we are now carrying out with so many difficulties.

Prime Minister Popov Surveys Scene

PM1405092991 Madrid ABC in Spanish 28 Apr 91 pp 44, 45

[Interview with Prime Minister Dimitur Popov by Ramon Luis Acuna; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Acuna] Mr. Prime Minister, Bulgaria would like to banish its immediate past, but it is returning at a gallop. The press has just published a list of 32 deputies connected with the former political police—the former State Security. Does this disclosure fit the facts?

[Popov] Do not concern yourself so much about this.

[Acuna] I am not concerning myself. I am interested in this and leave the concern to you as the man in charge of the Bulgarian Government, Mr. Prime Minister.

[Popov] It is a case which is not clear, either to the legislature or to the government. The names that appeared in the press are indeed those of deputies, but their files have not yet been checked by the legislative committee that examines these cases, nor have they been presented to those concerned in case they have anything to say about it. So there is no conclusion by that committee as to whether these are collaborators of the former State Security or this is just a fabrication. Interior Minister Khristo Danov did not give permission for these files to be examined, although in certain legislative circles it is said that the names were opportunely selected and the files withdrawn for examination by the committee. This committee comprising 15 deputies has discussed the matter and denies having officially requested the files.

[Acuna] The resignation of the interior minister—a member of the Union of Democratic Forces opposition party, and hence a noncommunist—was initially announced on television.

[Popov] It was not true. He later held a news conference and maintained his usual relationship with me as prime minister. We have met on several occasions. He is a very honest person. I totally reject the suspicions of the involvement of some names on the list in the former regime's secret services.

[Acuna] Do you believe that such an involvement of current politicians with the former State Security could corrode the new democratic system and decimate the political class, as is happening with the Stasi in East Germany?

[Popov] It is a problem of personal and political morality. For the present, the law does not regulate these actions. It is for the legislature to take decisions on this. It concerns the deputies themselves. Actually, in my opinion, politicians who in the past promised with their signatures to collaborate with the former regime's police should be condemned, even if they subsequently committed no specific action. The pressures brought to bear on them and the fear of retaliation by the previous regime should not be an exculpatory factor. In any event, it is not a matter for the government, although it is not immaterial to us.

[Acuna] Could it be aimed by the Communists at discrediting the democratic opposition? Do you regard this as one of the gravest problems of your term?

[Popov] No. I have much graver problems to resolve, such as those inherent in the changeover from a totalitarian system to a democratic system or in the structural transformation of the economy.

[Acuna] Mr. Prime Minister, also as part of its onerous legacy, Bulgaria faces the accusation that its secret services organized the attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II. Now that this will be a decade ago 13 May, what is your opinion of the Bulgarian connection?

[Popov] Proceedings have been opened, and the investigation is under way. I had a recent conversation with Mr. Kazamunski, who is directing the enquiries here, and he told me that we will have results only after several months.

[Acuna] What do you personally believe about the possibility that the former regime carried out the attack?

[Popov] As a lawyer, I have no choice but to leave this to the investigation under way in Bulgaria and to the investigation that is being conducted by an international commission of lawyers, intellectuals, and independent experts in the former State Security's files. I will remind you that in Italy the trial of Antonov concerning this same matter of Bulgarian agents' involvement in the assassination attempt against the pope—the so-called Antonov affair—ended through lack of evidence. However, we are not satisfied; we want investigations in more bodies, a more thorough examination.

[Acuna] What influence could this matter have on Bulgaria's credibility and future?

[Popov] We are very anxious for full light to be cast on these suspicions, whatever the conclusion. We will be more at ease as soon as the results of the investigations under way establish the truth about what actually happened. We are the first to be interested, believe me.

[Acuna] Mr. Prime Minister, as happens in any transition, society is further ahead in Bulgaria than the successive governments. Over the past few days there have been further demonstrations outside the legislature demanding early elections in June, because it is believed that the current Assembly no longer reflects the people's views. Do you believe that they must be brought forward?

[Popov] Not before the new constitution is completed and approved.

Not before a new electoral law for municipal and legislative elections is adopted. Not before all the economic

laws to transform society have been promulgated. The elections should be left until the end of the year.

[Acuna] But Bulgaria cannot wait long. It is beset by a severe shortage of basic necessities; there is a lack of foodstuffs such as milk, eggs, and fish. Since January, when prices were decontrolled, high prices have been added to the shortage. How is this situation to be ended?

[Popov] Yes, there is a shortage of foodstuffs. We do not have them in sufficient quantity, but three months ago there was nothing in the stores. We must now pay more for them, but the fact that they exist is itself a sign of change. The price decontrol measure—one of my government's first—should have been adopted months earlier. In my opinion, next winter will not be as difficult as last winter.

[Acuna] But right now there is hardly any gasoline in Bulgaria, which must pay for Soviet oil at market prices...

[Popov] We wish to turn the agreement that we signed with the Soviet Union at the end of 1990 into a cooperation and security treaty this month—certainly at the end of it—and I will personally go to Moscow to this end.

[Acuna] You have also announced a visit to Brussels, to visit NATO. Can agreements with the East be reconciled with agreements with the West?

[Popov] The treaty with the Soviet Union is essential for us. We conduct over 65 percent of our foreign trade with that country.

[Acuna] The economic situation is made even more complicated by the country's suspension of payments and by the foreign debts totaling $11 billion. What is the way out of this predicament?

[Popov] Yes, the debt is as high as you say. We are negotiating with our creditors to postpone payments of the interest and the principal. The debt to private institutions totals $8.5 billion. Their representatives have been here, and they know what we can pay and what we cannot. We must reach an agreement with them. The debt to public institutions is less. Regarding this debt, we have favorable decisions by the IMF and we have received loans from the World Bank.

[Acuna] Has a single dollar of Western investment reached Bulgaria?

[Popov] The foreign investments law, which allows profits to be repatriated and lays down clear taxes, is being approved in the legislature this week. Soon will come the trade law, the patents law, and, in the fall, the privatization law. There is considerable interest in Europe—and not just in Europe—in investment prospects in Bulgaria.

[Acuna] The cadres of the former Communist Party—now called the Socialist Party—are apparently the new Bulgarian businessmen. How is this new form of domination over your country's society to be averted?

[Popov] There is a special legislative commission that will establish what the former Communist party's assets are and cast light on the use of these assets to set up companies—an unlawful act. In the approaching privatization process, anybody who wishes to buy an enterprise will have to declare the origin of the funds he uses.

[Acuna] Mr. Prime Minister, are you concerned about the latent tension that has developed between citizens of Turkish origin and the rest of the Bulgarian people because of the bloody clashes in 1984 and 1987?

[Popov] Yes, the government is concerned about the intensification of this ethnic issue, caused primarily at the time of the compulsory name changes carried out by the Todor Zhivkov regime for several years in the eighties. It was an irrational decision and created an awkward situation.

[Acuna] What relations does Bulgaria maintain with Spain?

[Popov] We greatly admire present-day Spain. It was one of the first countries in Europe to move from a totalitarian system to a democratic system without major upheavals. We always have it in mind. I will remind you that there have been no casualties in the transformation of society in Bulgaria, either, but the Spanish transition is exemplary. I would like to set up a committee of experts to study it, to draw all the necessary lessons from it. As a lawyer, I have studied the Spanish Constitution, and it seems to me excellent—the most modern in Europe—and, I would like to add, the most elegant. I am constantly saying this, whether there are Spanish people present or not.

[Acuna] Is any official visit planned?

[Popov] We are awaiting King Juan Carlos' visit. It is very important for us, since his stay here will represent real democratic recognition. We will receive him with courtesy, respect, and the warmth characteristic of our people. We will be pleased to have in Bulgaria the head of state of a country for which we feel sincere affection.

[Acuna] Is there any bilateral agreement in view?

[Popov] We could prepare an agreement on trade, culture, and tourism with Felipe Gonzalez; we have many common interests. I would very gladly invite the Spanish prime minister to Sofia, or I would go to Madrid to this end. [passage omitted]

Mutafchiev Meets Romanian Defense Minister

AU1105203891 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 7 May 91 pp 1, 4

[Vladi Vladkov report, datelined Giurgiu, Nikopol, and Sofia]

[Text] The changes that have ensued in the armies of the Eastern European countries are leading to new forms of contacts between them. Freed from the constricting and regulatioa-ridden framework of the relations within the Warsaw Pact, today the leaderships of these countries' defense ministries are rapidly seeking ways to establish bilateral contacts of mutual benefit for their security. The good relations between the military cannot fail to influence the general atmosphere of calm and constructive attitudes, even in such a region as the Balkan peninsula, with its heavy burden of past conflicts.

Bulgarian military diplomacy is making its own major contribution to this process. Recently intensive contacts were established at various levels with the Defense Ministries of Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia, and Romania. Yesterday, 6 May, at the invitation of the Romanian Ministry of National Defense, a further meeting took place between the defense ministers of Bulgaria and Romania, Colonel General Yordan Mutafchiev and Major General Nicolae Spiroiu.

In the middle of the Danube Bridge [in Ruse], the Bulgarian military delegation was welcomed by Vice Admiral George Angelescu [name as published] commander of the Romanian Navy. The motor cavalcade set off for the port of Giurgiu, where Major Gen. Spiroiu welcomed his Bulgarian colleague and the generals and officers accompanying him. The two delegation went on board the command ship "Siret," which then set sail up the Danube flying the Romanian and Bulgarian flags.

Major Gen. Spiroiu, who was recently appointed defense minister, welcomed the Bulgarian guests. He expressed his conviction that the relations between our two Armies should serve as a model of good intentions and cooperation. The defense minister briefed the members of the Bulgarian delegation on the situation in Romania, which is still complex and full of contradictions. In this situation the Army, which enjoys the trust of the Romanian people, serves as a stabilizing factor and is the main guarantor of the democratic changes in Romania.

Minister Spiroiu also spoke about certain changes that have started in the Armed Forces. The length of compulsory military service has been reduced to one year, and the institution of the Army has been depoliticized. The pensioning age of generals and officers has been reduced.

Other issues of mutual interest were also discussed.

We have been friends until now, and will remain friends in the future, stated Defense Minister Mutafchiev. The common problems that we have to resolve take precedence over specific problems. We must now assess everything that we have achieved in a new way. We must consider how, while following independent policies, we can raise our mutual relations to a new level, in the interest of the two countries' economic development and national security.

Minister Mutafchiev pointed out that in our international relations we give priority to the links with our neighbors. Bulgaria's northern border is a border of peace, a border of good-neighborliness. This is our common desire, and cannot fail to be fulfilled.

Later on, the Bulgarian defense minister spoke about our country's political and economic problems. He acquainted his Romanian colleague with the principles of the new military doctrine, based on the principles of reasonable sufficiency. Our country has no territorial claims against any other state. It threatens no one and will not become the cause of conflicts with any of our neighbors, Minister Mutafchiev stated in conclusion.

Later, in a businesslike atmosphere, the two ministers signed a Plan for Cooperation between the Bulgarian Army and the Army of Romania for 1991. After signing this document, the two ministers made the following statements:

Major General Niculae Spiroiu: I consider that the relations between our armies are very good and have marvelous prospects under the new conditions. The friendly personal relations between their leaderships will play their own very important part. They form the basis of the success of our meeting which, I am sure, will not be the last. I would like to congratulate Minister Mutafchiev and his colleagues, as well as my own colleagues, on their contributions to the preparation of the document that we have just signed. I wish you all the best!

Colonel General Yordan Mutafchiev: The plan for cooperation between our two countries' Armies is a continuation of the good relations that we maintain. It is an indicator of our common views that relations between our Armies and countries must develop on a bilateral basis and be consolidated in the interest of mutual security. These documents provide a clearer picture of the directions in which we must develop our cooperation, based on the interests of both countries.

Imperceptibly, the fair ship "Siret" reached the final goal of its voyage—the region between Nikopol and Turnu Magurele. A Bulgarian and a Romanian military cutter came alongside. The Danube separated us, as good military friends. However, it also joined us together, just as we have been linked for centuries by the threads of history. These threads do not recognize temporary situations and ephemeral grandeur, and our Armies today are neither temporary developments, nor transient in nature.

Describes Talks With NATO

AU1305080391 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 6 May 91 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Defense Minister Colonel General Yordan Mutafchiev by Major Vladi Vladkov in Sofia on 3 May; first paragraph is NARODNA ARMIYA introduction: "Four Pillars of European Security"]

[Text] A few days ago a Bulgarian Government delegation led by Prime Minister Dimitur Popov returned

from Belgium. The delegation included Defense Minister Colonel General Yordan Mutafchiev.

[Vladkov] Mr. Minister, what were the main aims that the Bulgarian delegation set itself for its visit to Belgium?

[Mutafchiev] Our visit to Brussels formed part of the program of Mr. Popov's government. Its aims were rather broad: on the one hand, to clarify certain issues connected with Bulgaria's economic relations with the EC, and on the other, to establish first contacts at such a high level with the NATO leadership in Brussels. We wanted to test the atmosphere in NATO, and find out their attitudes to Bulgaria, to the security problems of the countries of Europe, and, more specifically, to our own country's security.

I would like to specifically stress that we did not go there with the intention of proposing Bulgaria's candidature for membership in NATO, because this is neither possible nor necessary. This was further confirmed at the highest level by NATO Headquarters. Furthermore, we did not aim to conclude agreements of any kind.

[Vladkov] What was your own program during the visit?

[Mutafchiev] I had several meetings. I met the Norwegian General Eide [name as transliterated], chairman of the NATO Military Committee, who has held this post since September 1989. I also took part in Prime Minister Popov's meetings with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner and with the permanent representatives of the 16 NATO member-countries. I was also received by Belgian Defense Minister Guy Coeme at the Belgian Defense Ministry.

At these meetings, we discussed the changes that are taking place in Bulgaria and in the country's internal and foreign policy, and spoke about the development of Bulgaria's economy and the changes in the military field. We communicated our concern regarding national security in the conditions and realities that exist now in Europe and throughout the world. We also told them about the work of the Bulgarian Defense Ministry and the Bulgarian Army General Staff in implementing national policy in the defense field. I personally would describe these talks as necessary and beneficial, because we obtained a clearer picture of the position held by NATO and its leadership's views regarding security problems in Europe.

[Vladkov] You probably reached certain conclusions following your meetings with the leaders of the North Atlantic Alliance.

[Mutafchiev] I would like to point out a number of general conclusions. The first of this is that, as Mr. Woerner also stated, it is not necessary for all the countries of Europe to belong to NATO. I think that this was the answer to a very important question for us, which has been the subject of wide discussion for a long time. This question can be further developed as follows: If the whole of Europe is in NATO, against whom will this Europe be opposed?

According to the NATO leaders, the new structure of security in Europe should rest on four main pillars: the CSCE, the EC, the Council of Europe, and NATO. What impressed me was that the accent in developing our ties with the North Atlantic Alliance was placed on bilateral relations, on bilateral cooperation with the NATO members. This is also the view in relation to NATO's future contacts with all the former members of the Warsaw Pact.

[Vladkov] What is the view of the leaders of the military-political bloc regarding the state of the Central and Eastern European countries' security following the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact?

[Mutafchiev] We told them of our preoccupation with the realities created following the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, because this organization was the principal guarantor of our security. During our meetings and talks we reached the conclusion that Bulgaria, like the other Eastern European countries, must seek supports for its security through participation in the CSCE and through work in its organs and institutions, which are now being set up. In addition, bilateral links and relations must also be developed with the NATO countries. Apart from this, emphasis is also placed on arms control and on strict implementation of the Paris accords. Relations of good-neighborliness and cooperation are of exceptional importance for the security of any country.

It also became known that a high-level meeting of representatives of the NATO countries will be held this autumn. This meeting will examine questions of great importance for the present and future of this military-political alliance. I believe that this meeting will also provide answers to certain issues of importance for our own national security.

[Vladkov] Mr. Minister, how does NATO view the role of the Soviet Union in the future development of the European security processes?

[Mutafchiev] An important accent in our talks, which became especially evident during the meeting with Mr. Woerner, was that the security of Europe can only be considered with the participation of the Soviet Union. In their view, NATO is not interested in confrontation with the USSR. Irrespective of the problems now facing the Soviet Union, it remains a great state. Just as before, it continues now to play an important role in guaranteeing European security.

[Vladkov] During your meetings and talks, was the question raised of our present and future relations with our Balkan neighbors?

[Mutafchiev] These problems were also discussed. They gave a good assessment of the government's work in this field, especially the work carried out by the leadership of

the Ministry of Defense and the General Staff. After our meeting, General Eide left on a visit to Turkey. He undertook to convey our good wishes to the leadership of the Turkish Defense Ministry and our readiness to work for the future of our mutual relations.

During our meetings and talks in Brussels, we did not conceal our concern regarding Bulgaria's security. We raised the issue that a certain imbalance has arisen on the basis of the Paris accords, because these were negotiated on a bloc basis, and one of the blocs has already ceased to exist. This imbalance is especially apparent when one draws comparisons with our southern neighbors. There have been increases in some of the categories of weapons as compared with the quantities that they held previously, whereas we have made substantial reductions.

[Vladkov] Can we expect any practical results after your delegation's visit to NATO's Headquarters in Brussels?

[Mutafchiev] Mr. Woerner and Mr. Eide expressed a wish to establish early contacts in both the political and military fields. We did not make any specific arrangements for exchanging delegations, but both sides expressed such a wish. The next contact will be Manfred Woerner's visit to Bulgaria.

[Vladkov] Mr. Minister, one last question. One obtains the impression that for some time already the Bulgarian Army has managed to establish itself as a diplomatic force, especially in the Balkans. A series of meetings has been held at different levels with Greece, Turkey, and Yugoslavia, and a meeting is about to take place with Romania. Will these meetings continue?

[Mutafchiev] This is an expression of the efforts being made by the Ministry of Defense to improve the situation in the Balkans. However, at one of the recent meetings of the National Security Council I firmly stated my view that political contacts and accords must form the leading factor in this direction. The president, vice president, and the other members of the council all agreed that priority must now be given to political decisions and contacts, and that we would resolve our specific tasks on the basis of the former. In order for our decisions to carry weight, they must be preceded, at the state and government level, by decisions that will provide guidelines for our foreign activities. This would make our task very much easier and would raise the effectiveness of the efforts of Bulgarian military diplomacy.

BSP Official Assesses Minor Parties

AU1005142991 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 May 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Nikolay Kamov, leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council's group for liaison with political parties, by Angel Bonev; place and date not given—first paragraph is DUMA introduction]

[Text] Immediately after 10 November 1989, numerous small groups emerged on the Bulgarian political scene in which the amateurs prevailed over political professionals. How is the situation today? Nikolay Kamov, leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] group for liaison with political parties, and political scientist, was interviewed on the subject. The number of registered parties exceeds 90 today.

[Bonev] Is this not a number indicating political super-production?

[Kamov] Yes, but this applies only to the quantity factor. Unfortunately, professional politicians are in the minority, therefore such a super-production is not likely to overwhelm us.

Presumably, a political explosion stands at the beginning of each nascent democracy. This happened in Spain after Franco—and this is a historical period to which we should compare our development. Over 100 parties existed at that time. The political formations established in Greece after the military junta were also so numerous. Therefore, we can assume that the formation of numerous political organizations is an inevitable, objective process that is awaiting us.

[Bonev] Could you say that each of the 90 parties has its own social basis?

[Kamov] No, only parties with a long-term history whose natural development was forcibly interrupted by the totalitarian system have a social basis. We followed with interest the latest congresses of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP] and of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS]. As is known, the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] conveyed its greetings to both congresses. The existence of the two parties in our society can be felt. The Green Party and Ecoglasnost also exert their influence, and this may also apply to some other parties belonging to the Union of Democratic Forces, which have not engaged in independent activities as yet.

Nevertheless, I would like to draw your attention to some parties that owe their existence to the democratic changes in our country, but are not working for democracy. Some of them are ready to adopt any color whatsoever for the sake of remaining on the political scene. Others are desperately fighting for their appearance on the political scene. It is no secret that there are quite a few noisy political organizations in our country today that are backed only by a handful of people.

[Bonev] How many of such phantom parties exist in our country?

[Kamov] It is easier to say how many of them are not phantom parties. No more than one tenth of all parties existing in Bulgaria exert their own, individual political influence.

[Bonev] Would you say that they are only 10?

[Kamov] Exactly. As a matter of fact, however, some so-called "leaders" are proudly parading on the Bulgarian political scene, although no one is standing behind them. This should not surprise us, because until recently it was easier for a political party to register than for a business company.

Nevertheless, the problem is not about such "phantoms" that people accept rather with curiosity than with real interest. Unfortunately many parties with potential opportunities of public influence remained outside the legislature. It is not their fault but the fault of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] that a year ago behaved rather undemocratically by actually closing the door in their faces, thus abandoning them to the status of extra-legislative opposition.

[Bonev] Does this mean that democracy may also begin with discrimination?

[Kamov] Yes, it can. Some parties and personalities are now treated with undeserved discrimination. Many of the extra-legislative formations are deprived of press services in which to propagate their ideas that may appeal to large social strata. They have not even the most elementary facilities for implementing their activities.

[Bonev] Did they resign themselves to the situation?

[Kamov] They did not act as someone who has been offended, but wisely demonstrated their readiness to contact any political force that is sincerely willing to rescue society from the crisis. They have their own self-esteem tyhat they know how to protect. The BSP has permanent contact with some of them. We hold consultations with them that are useful for both sides without committing them to anything.

[Bonev] Are some parties of the extra-legislative opposition seeking a coalition with the BSP?

[Kamov] Let us not talk about coalitions, but about cooperation. Unlike some who deny our right to existence, there are numerous parties, which in addition to recognizing us, are aware of the opportunities of cooperation proposed by the BSP.

Interparty relations, as a rule, are based on joint stands. The peaceful transition to a democratic society represents such a cornerstone in our all our contacts with other parties. Parties with very different ideological and political orientations are capable of cooperating on this basis. It is interesting that we cannot find a common language on this point with formations that have split from the former Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and which frankly consider themselves as part of the "democratic rightwing." As a matter of fact, the former Communists, both as individuals, and as parties are the most enraged opponents of the BSP. This is nothing new, however.

[Bonev] Are you seeking contact with such parties?

[Kamov] No, because there is no basis for this. Efforts for a simple human dialogue in such cases sometimes result in quite ridiculous situations.

[Bonev] Such as for example?

[Kamov] Well, is it not ridiculous when the words and gestures of an adult remind you of childish behavior which sounds like: "Mommy does not allow me to play with you?!" Because, you are one of the BSP, of course.

However, I would like to stress the opposite case. I was always impressed by politicians, who although having suffered hard, and sometimes even cruel repressions, are treating the BSP with respect and tolerance. On the other hand, certain younger colleagues of them prefer to teach us lessons in democracy without ever having provided evidence of their own democratic spirit.

[Bonev] What about your relations with communist parties?

[Kamov] There are already three of them, and each of them is seeking its place on the political scene in different manner. Their common feature is that they declare themselves as legal successors of the BCP—a right that no one can deny to them. We have established contacts with them —but we can hardly speak of relations, considering that these parties have not really participated in political life as yet.

[Bonev] What are your forecasts for the future?

[Kamov] Everything will fall into place. If the democratic process is not interrupted, the spectrum of political parties in Bulgaria within one or two years is expected to be quite different from today's. The bipolar confrontation between the BSP and the SDS should be replaced by a pluralistic and well balanced party system in which the influence of each party should be determined solely by the degree of the people's confidence. The will of the parties themselves, namely of their members and of the electorate's strata, should prevail over the influence of their leaders in political life. The situation is reversed today. I hope that political confrontation will be replaced by constructive spirit and tolerance....

[Bonev] Do you think that numerous prerequisites exist for this?

[Kamov] Not so many. Nevertheless, the most important thing is that society should become capable of working out its own criteria for evaluating the actions of political parties and leaders. Let us call them criteria of democratic spirit. Burned by totalitarianism, having chosen the path of democracy, we are obliged to adopt such criteria so we may not be once more deceived. To call oneself a democrat is one thing, to be a real democrat is quite a different matter. As far as the BSP is concerned, it has set numerous example confirming that being a socialist and a democrat are absolutely compatible concepts.

RSFSR's Yeltsin Arrives for Official Visit

LD1305142291 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, arrived in Prague today for a three-day official visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly.

As he emphasized in a short statement on his arrival, it is his first official visit during his 11 months in office as chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet. He also mentioned the events of 1968 which, he said, he viewed at that time as a misunderstanding in the socialist camp. Today, however, he views it as a gross mistake and as interference in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia. He therefore sees his visit as a final full stop to a black past.

Holds News Conference

LD1305164391 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 13 May 91

[Report by Petr Voldan on the visit by Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Supreme Soviet, to the CSFR]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin was his old self today at the old Ruzyne Airport; smiling, self-assured, but also more diplomatic. This, above all, when the originally advertised speech for journalists turned into a short news conference. In answering a question about the course of his talks with Gorbachev yesterday in the Kremlin on the future of autonomous republics on the territory of the Russian Federation, he replied with laughter that nobody won, but a compromise had been reached. Boris Yeltsin was even more unrecognizable when he reacted to my question as to whether the success of his visit to the CSFR could have a favorable influence on his chances in the election of the president of the Russian Federation.

I do not link one with the other because it would not be good to be complacent before elections, he said. It is always necessary to fight.

The Russian Supreme Soviet chairman reiterrated his attitude toward the events of 1968. Then he saw it as a misunderstanding; now, he evaluates interference in our affairs as a gross mistake.

The meeting between Boris Yeltsin and Alexander Dubcek in the Federal Assembly building took place behind closed doors without the presence of journalists, and both politicians were then welcomed on Wenceslas Square. There the guest honored the memory of Jan Palach, and after a brief discussion with journalists he set off for Prague Castle, where he was expected by President Vaclav Havel.

So the very first visit abroad in the post of chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet has begun for Boris Yeltsin, and it could be the last if he is elected president of the RSFSR in June. He would then be traveling with his new title. Tomorrow, after a packed morning agenda, Boris Yeltsin will visit Bratislava.

Zantovsky Briefs Press

LD1305173291 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 13 May 91

[Report by Stanislav Benda on a briefing by Presidential Press Spokesman Michael Zantovsky in Prague on 13 May]

[Excerpts] I think that I am not exaggerating when I say that today's briefing focused on two events only: the meeting in Lany on 10 May between political representatives and the president and the forthcoming visit by Boris Yeltsin in the CSFR. Since the president of the Russian Federation is coming at the invitation of the Federal Assembly chairman, we have only learned that Vaclav Havel will receive him late in the afternoon today and that it does not mean anything more or less than that we recognize the Russian Federation as part of the Soviet Union.

We have already informed you about the talks in Lany, so it is not necessary to talk about it again in detail. [passage omitted]

Mr. Zantovsky then returned once again to the Czech National Council proposal presented during the talks in Lany by Mrs. Dagmar Buresova. It is a document of more than three pages that proposes an agreement [dohoda] of the two National Councils on the constitutional setup of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, which you will most probably be able to read in tomorrow's papers. On this subject, I will only mention one remark by Mr. Zantovsky. From the legal point of view, there is no differece between a treaty [dohoda] and an agreement [dohoda]. This is not a problem.

[Prague CTK in English at 1454 GMT on 13 May adds in a Prague-datelined report: "Czechoslovakia recognizes the existence of the Russian Federative Republic as one of the Soviet Union's republics, not as a subject of international law', Spokesman of the Czechoslovak President Michael Zantovsky told a press conference at Prague Castle today. Referring to the visit of Russian Republic President Boris Yeltsin to Czechoslovakia, starting today, he said Yeltsin will be received by President Vaclav Havel today. The agenda of their talks is still open, Zantovsky said. Yeltsin's visit to Czechoslovakia is taking place at the invitation of Chairman of the Federal Assembly (parliament) Alexander Dubcek. Zantovsky informed journalists that this week Havel will receive the Iranian, Nigerian and Singaporean ambassadors to Czechoslovakia, representatives of Volhynian Czechs who have left the Soviet Union to live in Czechoslovakia, and representatives of the British petrol and Japanese Mitsubishi firms. Havel will visit the Slovak capital of Bratislava on Wednesday, Zantovsky said."]

First Day of Visit Reviewed

LD1305205191 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1730 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, arrived in Prague today at the invitation of Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek. At Ruzyne Airport, he was welcomed by Federal Assembly Deputy Chairman Rudolf Battek, Deputy Foreign Minister Zdenek Matejka, and Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Boris Pankin. In his statement for the press, Boris Yeltsin said that this was the first official visit during the 11 months in his present office. In answering a question by Czechoslovak Television on his view on some problematic reactions by both sides concerning his arrival in Czechoslovakia, Boris Yeltin said:

[Begin Yeltsin recording, in Russian with superimposed Czech translation] Russia is a sovereign state which, in accordance with our declaration, laws, and constitution, has its own foreign policy. Therefore, it is up to it to decide whether it will or will not hold talks both at home and abroad. The Czechoslovak side, too, agreed with the proposed agenda. I will have talks with President Vaclav Havel, and I presume that a declaration on cooperation and development of new mutual relations will be signed. [end recording]

Boris Yeltsin said that 1968 was a tragic year not only for Czechoslovakia but also for all the 150 million people in Russia. The occupation, Boris Yeltsin stated, he then understood as a misunderstanding in the socialist camp. He is here now so that his country can finally renounce the black past. Regarding a question on whether his present visit has any hidden purpose before the elections, Boris Yeltsin replied negatively. He added, however, that he would fight as best as he could to get the post of the president of the Russian Federation.

From the airport, Boris Yeltsin's first steps led to the Federal Assembly building, where he met Alexander Dubcek and Rudolf Battek. The two parliaments' representatives talked not only about the past, which needs objective assessment, but mainly about future relations, in particular about trade cooperation. For instance, the demand in the Russian Federation for traditional Czechoslovak products continues to be very high. In this regard, they agreed on the need to search for ways of overcoming the current economic problems. According to the Federal Assembly Presidium, Boris Yeltsin is an influential man in the Russian Federation, and it is a matter of real importance for Czechoslovakia to have good relations with this Union republic. The chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet then discussed possibilities of further mutual cooperation and its political aspects with citizens and visitors of Prague during his sightseeing walk to Wenceslas Square. As announced today, Boris Yeltsin and Alexander Dubcek should sign tomorrow the much-discussed and problematic declaration. This, however, will not be a parliamentary text but a joint declaration by the parliaments' chairmen which will also include an important statement on the events of 1968.

From Wenceslas Square, where he paid respect to the heroic act of Jan Palach, Boris Yeltsin left for Prague Castle. There he was received by President Vaclav Havel who, in a more than one-hour long talk, pointed to the special importance of economic contacts between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union in general and Czechoslovakia and the Russian Federation in particular. Both representatives then discussed more concrete issues; for instance, the possibility of establishing joint ventures. Boris Yeltsin discussed the prepared Union treaty. He said that, since the conflict situation in April, it could at least be said that it did not deteriorate.

Early in the evening, the chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet met representatives of the Czech National Council at an extraordinary, enlarged session of its Presidium. Dagmar Buresova welcomed the guest as a representative of those forces that had recognized the crisis of their society and were trying to find its causes. During the talks, Boris Yeltsin stated that the development of mutual relations between Russia and the Czech Republic would not have any progress if the two sides kept looking into the past only.

Boris Yeltsin will also meet representatives of Slovakia tomorrow in Bratislava .

Boris Yeltsin will address Federal Assembly deputies tomorrow afternoon. This is what Jan Sokol, deputy chairman of the Chamber of Nations, said today at the news conference pegged to the impending 15th joint session of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly.

Yeltsin Meets Havel

LD1305194791 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] President Vaclav Havel today met Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Boris Yeltsin at Prague Castle. According to Presidential Spokesman Michael Zantovsky, the two representatives exchanged information on the situation in their countries. Boris Yeltsin noted, among other things, that since April a period has commenced in the Soviet Union when the situation is not worsening, but, rather, understanding and accord are taking place. Boris Yeltsin conveyed to Vaclav Havel greetings from President Mikhail Gorbachev. Czech National Council Chairwoman Dagmar Buresova welcomed Boris Yeltsin in the Czech National Council. The Russian guest emphasized that the future of mutual relations must grow out of fresh foundations and not merely from retrospection on the past.

Dienstbier Receives Yeltsin Delegate

LD1305210291 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Jiri Dienstbier, federal deputy prime minister and foreign minister, received in Prague today Andrey Kozyrev, foreign minister of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], who is a member of Boris Yeltsin's delegation. Both representatives briefed

each other on the current political situation in their countries and exchanged views on the prepared bilateral agreement between the CSFR and the USSR. They also voiced satisfaction with the fulfillment of the agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from our territory and stated that, after overcoming the recent problems, a need for good-neighborly relations was felt in both countries.

Yeltsin Addresses Czech National Council

LD1405095891 Prague CTK in English 2209 GMT 13 May 91

[Excerpts] Prague, 13 May (CTK)—President of the Russian Republic Boris Yeltsin met on the first day of his visit to Czechoslovakia today with Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and Czechoslovak parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek, discussing political questions and economic cooperation with them.

In his speech before the Czech National Council Yeltsin said the Russian leadership would like the treaty that is to be concluded between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, as two federal states, to be of a strategic nature while the Russian Republic would seek agreements with Czechoslovakia in specified areas. Yeltsin said that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev agreed with this idea when they met privately last Sunday. "The suspicion must not arise that Russia is driving a wedge into relations between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. This is not true", Yeltsin said.

He added that Russia has irreversibly embarked on the road to democracy and there is no way back to totalitarianism.

Both Yeltsin and parliament Chairwoman Dagmar Buresova expressed satisfaction with the development of contacts between the Czech Republic and Russia. Yeltsin indicated that the dramatic decline in Czechoslovak-Soviet trade exchanges could be partly offset by barter deals. In the evening, Soviet Ambassador Boris Pankin gave a cocktail party in Yeltsin's honour. Guests included Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek.

Meets With Dubcek, Pithart, Buresova

LD1405095391 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 14 May 91

[Text] Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Boris Yeltsin began the second day of his visit to Prague. He had a private breakfast with Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek. He then met Czech National Council Chairwoman Dagmar Buresova, Prime Minister Petr Pithart, and other government members.

Economic Cooperation Discussed

LD1405114691 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 14 May 91

[Text] Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Boris Yeltsin met in the building of the Czech Government today with Czech political representatives led by Czech National Council Chairwoman Dagmar Buresov and Prime Minister Petr Pithart. The Czech prime minister described the reconstruction of the economy, the implementation of democracy, and the settlement of the federation's problems as common tasks facing the two republics. During the talks on economic cooperation, he recalled the disintegration of the CEMA market and the fall in mutual trade. This was due to the shortage of freely convertible currency and not to the lack of interest in deliveries of goods and raw materials. Now it is necessary, Petr Pithart stressed, to follow up on the March talks in Moscow where new possibilities for trade were outlined.

Calfa Explains 'Tanks Are Wares Like Any Other'

AU1405093491 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 10 May 91 p 1

[Interview with CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa by Petr Husak and Katerina Smalkova; place and date not given: "Israel Disagrees but Understands"]

[Text] [LIDOVE NOVINY] Mr. Prime Minister, you said in Israel that tanks are wares like any other and that we will sell them to whomever we want. Do you still feel that way?

[Calfa] Certainly. Of course a single sentence taken out of context can distort the actual content of the information. In Israel, I told the World Jewish Congress representatives that Czechoslovakia has extraordinary difficulties with the conversion. I explained the impact it has—national, political, and social. How are we to make money for the conversion? I explained that in this respect we do not consider the decision to sell tanks to Syria to be an act aimed against Israel. To us, tanks are goods like any other that we sell, and this way we obtain the money we need to stop arms production. Israeli representatives pointed out to me the U.S. position on this issue. I replied that Czechoslovakia will decide on its own what and to whom it will supply, while considering the international political and economic interests.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Do you believe that Israel understood the difficulty of our situation?

[Calfa] Absolutely. At first, Prime Minister Shamir objected. After I had explained our situation, he said that he could not agree with this act but that he understood our situation. Similarly, the reaction of the World Jewish Congress was understanding and was much milder than the reaction in the Czechoslovak press. Moreover, the tank contract has not yet been realized. I hope that the intimation that we might go ahead with it will stimulate a more active attitude among world financial circles. If we received money from them, we would not have to sell and produce the tanks. Try to explain this because Mr. Hanak [correspondent] really "gave it to me" in LIDOVE NOVINY.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Do you expect any specific steps to be taken by the United States and Israel?

[Calfa] I believe that after such an outcry, moreover on Israeli soil, everybody will understand that we need help. The conversion is not only a Czechoslovak affair. The arms-producing factories were built for the needs of the entire Eastern Bloc. The Bloc no longer exists, but the arms factories remain. I met with representatives of the World Jewish Congress headed by Edgar Bronfman, a personal friend of President Bush's. In his person, I also addressed the United States. I hope that there will be a response.

Parties Air Views on Tank Sales Controversy

AU1405082691 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 8 May 91 p 1

["(fa)"-signed report: "They Do Not See It in a Promising Light"]

[Text] CTK's regular "question of the week" yesterday concerned opinions about Czechoslovakia's manufacture and sale of weapons. Civic Democratic Alliance Chairman P. Bratinka described the sale of weapons to Syria and Iran as "a sale made out of desperation. Our foreign interests as a whole are being sacrificed to the current interests of the employees in Slovakia's armaments plants. If this contributes toward dispelling the suspicion that the Federal Government or the Czech Government are Slovakia's enemies, then we welcome it."

We have noticed from the replies given by other spokesmen that the Civic Movement and the Christian Democratic Party are demanding that consideration be given to the political and moral circumstances concerning the sale of weapons. The Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party currently discounts the possibility of sales "to certain Arab countries." The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia recommends an unbiased "political and economic realism." According to the Czechoslovak People's Party, we are again faced with the decision whether "to respect the interests of our own people or of the Jewish lobby in the U.S. Congress." The Civic Democratic Party did not reply to the question. "The Democratic Party is of the opinion that the market—and not politicians—should make decisions about the development or winding down of production. This also applies if the issue involves such a sensitive sector as armament production," said Marius Hricovsky, an adviser to the party's chairman. The Slovak National Party is in favor of conversion "only when replacement production programs are guaranteed." The Egyutteles movement considers conversion to be essential. The Slovak Democratic Party does not exclude the possibility that "strategies to free the markets for someone else" are involved.

Commentaries View Tank Deal With Syria

AU1405094291

[Editorial Report] Czech and Slovak newspapers on 8, 10, and 11 May continue to publish commentaries on the intention of the Czechoslovak Government to sell 300 T-72 tanks to Syria and on official U.S. and Israeli reactions to the planned export. The following commentaries are worth noting:

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 8 May on page 3 carries a 1,000-word Ivan Horsky commentary entitled: "Czechoslovakia on the Carpet. Why?" Horsky discusses international reactions to the planned sale. While he calls it "completely understandable" that the "sharpest reactions came from Israel, which feels threatened by the possible enlargement of the tank army of its potential enemy, Syria, by 300 T-72 tanks," he takes exception to the negative U.S. reaction. Horsky says: "In this context I would like to draw attention to the fact that when the issue was to win Damascus for the anti-Iraqi coalition, Washington turned a blind eye to Syria's policies and even the prospect of arms deliveries for its not-exactly-democratic regime as a compensation for the loss of deliveries from the USSR and other Eastern European countries remained open. Moreover, after Baghdad's defeat, the United States, Great Britain, and France are getting ready to reinforce Arab countries from the coalition with weapons that are not always the least modern ones. Their companies are expecting contracts worth billions of dollars. How pitiful, compared with this, is the $250 million from the export of 300 Czechoslovak T-72 tanks? Not to mention the fact that, according to U.S. congressional statistics, the five permanent members of the UN Security Council sold to the Middle East $160 billion worth of weapons in the years 1974 to 1988...."

Horsky attributes the U.S. objections to the planned Czechoslovak export to the absence of a Czechoslovak lobby in Washington. He says: "It is remarkable that when Poland recently managed to sell 100 tanks to Syria, as it is alleged to have done, there was no public campaign of condemnation. After returning from Washington, however, President Walesa had the tank factory quietly closed to fulfill one of the promises for the Bush Administration to cut his country's enormous debt.

"Unfortunately, unlike our northern neighbor, we do not have our lobby in Washington. Six million potential voters, six million votes for the President and other federal, state, and local politicians are not negligible overseas. This and other cases show that some are more equal than others."

Horsky supports Prime Minister Calfa's argument that, unless the CSFR receives the finances it needs to develop alternative civilian production programs, it will "have no choice" but to earn finances for conversion through arms exports. He points out that the loss of thousands of jobs in Slovak arms factories represents a "political dynamite that poses a threat not only to social peace but, above all, to the nascent democracy."

He concludes his commentary by saying: "We do not go begging, we only ask for understanding for our problems and for help in overcoming them."

Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 10 May on page 5 carries a 600-word Milan Vodicka commentary entitled: "Defects of the Syrian Deal." Vodicka believes that the intended delivery of 300 tanks to Syria

is a "deal at the wrong time and place." The timing is wrong, according to the author, because the planned sale coincides with President Bush's endeavor to reduce armament in the Middle East. "Far more delicate is the problem of place, however," Vodicka continues, because "we have chosen the least acceptable customer in the least suitable region." Vodicka argues that, despite being a member of the anti-Iraq coalition and a "temporary U.S. ally," Syria "is the same country it was before the war." It is ruled by the same "incalculable regime" and poses "the same risk to its Israeli neighbor" as before the Kuwaiti crisis.

Vodicka concludes his commentary by saying: "What we regard as acquisition of money for the conversion of the arms industry must inevitably be seen by Israel, for example, for what it really is—a reinforcement of the Syrian Army. 'We are not selling weapons for them to be used against Israel,' press agencies quoted Prime Minister Calfa as saying. Using the same excuse, it is possible to sell even a nuclear bomb. Syria is not going to give us any guarantees that it will not use the new weapons, and we cannot even ask for any guarantees. President al-Asad is not interested in purchasing the tanks because he is an admirer of their design.

"The problem is not that we intend to export tanks but that we intend to export them to Syria, of all places.

"Nevertheless, Prague responds with amazement to the calls from Washington and Jerusalem that we refrain from the supplies to Syria—why do they not want to understand us? From sheer amazement we do not have time to understand that by exporting 300 tanks we are entering Middle Eastern politics. Thereby the deal stops being just our affair. By this clumsy attempt at solving our internal problems we are complicating others' lives.

"Although we do not have many alternatives to chose from, it is naive to rely on understanding because the path we have chosen is far from respectable. We will not get the tacit agreement that we wish even if we vow that 'this definitely does not mean that (henceforth) we shall be selling weapons anywhere and to anyone, regardless of the realities of today's world' (M. Zantovsky).

"In this specific instance of the Syrian deal we have been guided, so far, by the completely opposite principle."

Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 11 May on page 2 carries a 500-word Borek Hanus commentary entitled: "Slightly Intoxicating Tanks." The commentator challenges the arguments that have been proposed by Czechoslovak officials in defense of the tank deal with Syria—that a few thousand workers in Slovak arms factories will not lose their jobs "immediately" and that the deal will help "extract" Czechoslovakia's otherwise irrecoverable claims in Syria. Hanus argues that, as the Federal Government itself keeps confirming, the decision on converting the arms industry is irreversible so, in the long run, the loss of jobs in Slovakia cannot be avoided anyway. Hanus also questions the ethical aspect of achieving "social peace in Slovakia" at the expense of "greater unrest in the Middle East." As for the second argument, Hanus asks: "What justifies the hope that Syria, after it pays for the tanks in cash, will suddenly start repaying its old credits? Besides—provided this hope does not stand on feet of clay, I have to ask what prompts Syria to change its conduct so markedly—why does it show such a keen interest in our tanks precisely at this point? Against whom does it intend to use them?"

Hanus detects "a single positive aspect of the deal," one which lies on the psychological level—the fact that, for the first time in decades, Czechoslovakia behaves as a "sovereign state" that does not let its decisions be influenced by others. He says in this context: "This feeling is slightly intoxicating because we have not been used to anything of this sort in the last decades. This intoxication with independence could, however, be dangerous if it prevails over common sense."

U.S. Understanding Requested in Conversion Issue

AU1405084091 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 8 May 91 p 3

[Jan Urban commentary: "Concerning Tangos With Shirley"]

[Text] Late in the evening of 3 May, U.S. Department of State Spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler announced that the United States disagrees with the export of Czechoslovak tanks to Syria and Iran. On the afternoon of 6 May, U.S. Ambassador Shirley Temple Black visited Deputy Foreign Minister Martin Palous to officially inform our government of this point of view. Post-November Czechoslovakia has thus found itself at variance—for the first time—with the global policy of both superpowers at once. If I may state my opinion, this will not do any harm. At least it will force us to again examine in detail the current situation and to determine the priorities of our foreign and domestic policy. This tango with tanks could—among other things—induce a far more serious view of the problems facing Central and Eastern Europe, a view that could be devoid—once and for all—of the ideologized feelings of triumph over the collapse of communism. Apparently, the worse thing a civilized man can do is to attempt to explain to starving cannibals that it is immoral to eat human flesh. Mentioning the 80,000 jobs and the seriousness of the social and political impact of conversion in Slovakia is not demagogy, it is a reminder of a real problem. It can be resolved in a specific time, with specific investments, and with specific organizational changes. We have no time and no money. We only have a very explosive—and almost exploding—problem.

Yes, the Federal Government and the legislatures underestimated this problem. Jurisdiction has practically sidetracked the Federal Government. From this position, it could only with great difficulty avoid the ostrich policy of Meciar's cabinet in conversion issues. It is absurd that the majority of managerial positions in Slovakia's giant armaments plants are occupied by the same people who

occupied them years ago. Merely stating this fact and its moralistic, ideological, or national version will not help us. Today we are simply faced with the rather harsh fact that we have no other fast and sensible alternative for obtaining resources for conversion; our only alternative is to sell weapons. Syria wants to buy ready-made tanks for $250 million. Only then is it, apparently, willing to begin to pay off the old—more than one billion [currency not specified]—debt for earlier armaments supplies. However, the fact that the long-promised—and today absolutely necessary—foreign investments, without which conversion cannot take place, are not immediately available, seems much harsher to me.

The new aquarium in New Orleans cost $70 million last year. The U.S. Administration has earmarked $60 million for the fund for the development of the private sector in the CSFR. There has been talk for more than a year about the need for world experts' participation in and the drafting of a Central European strategy for converting armaments production. Now—following the publicity given to the CSFR Government's rather desperate attempt to obtain resources for conversion by selling tanks—Ambassador Temple Black conveyed a U.S. Administration proposal on Monday to send a group of experts, led by U.S. Deputy Defense Secretary Atwood, to Slovakia in the summer. I do not want this country to export arms in the future. I hope very much that a solution can be found quickly that would enable us not to sell even these tanks. But today we are in a desperate situation, and our friends throughout the world should understand this.

Klaus Reports on U.S., IMF Talks

LD1405014991 Prague CTK in English 2147 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Washington May 13 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus conferred with U.S. Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady here today. Klaus said the focus of the talks was U.S. assistance to Czechoslovak trade policy, Czechoslovak exports to the U.S. and Europe and coordination between the U.S. and the European Community on these issues. After his arrival here Sunday, Klaus met with chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve Board Alan Greenspan and U.S. Deputy Secretary of the Treasury John Robson. The meeting was followed by Klaus' official talks with leading representatives of the International Financial Corporation (IFC), a World Bank group, in the evening. Subjects included privatisation in Czechoslovakia and IFC participation in it, as well as in a Czechoslovak securities and shares market when it begins to function after the first stages in the privatisation process. Detailed talks concerned the establishment and structure of investment funds and the role the IFC intends to play in it, Klaus said. The IFC already has an office in Prague.

This morning Klaus met with International Monetary Fund (IMF) Deputy Managing Director Richard Erb and IMF Group Director Jacques de Groote. He also held talks with World Bank Vice-President Moeen A. Qureshi.

"The IMF is satisfied with Czechoslovakia's course but sees the same problems as we do", Klaus told the CTK correspondent in Washington. The IMF realises the danger of a collapse in trade with the East and is examining the role it could play in export-oriented loans. This, however, is not the classical role of this international organisation, Klaus noted.

He said the IMF is aware it can react more quickly than some other international institutions and is better able to find ways of helping Czechoslovakia.

VPN Urges Screening of Politicians, Media

LD1405024691 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Two topics were on the agenda of the press briefing of the Public Against Violence [VPN]: one was the information about the talks in Lany, and the other was the topic of screening in Slovakia. Jozef Kucerak, chairman of the VPN Slovak Council, voiced the stand of the Public Against Violence movement, which went into the talks with the view that the federation is and will be an alliance of two equal republics. The legal act, which will confirm this, should not throw doubt on the federation, otherwise it could have negative internal political and foreign political consequences. Vladimir Cecetka, a member of the Defence Security Committee of the Slovak National Council, acquainted the journalists with the results of the activity of the parliamentary commission that addressed the issue of secret police in our country. It arrived at the conclusion that the activity of the secret police was unlawful. Therefore, it is necessary to screen to prevent the leak of information to undesirable persons and to limit the possibility of manipulation with these people. The screening should be carried out not only on the members of the government and the legislature but also on high-ranking political officials, directors of Slovak television and radio, and the judges of the Supreme Court.

More Assembly Deputies Exposed as Collaborators

AU1405082791 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 May 91 pp 1, 2

["ada"-signed report: "Second Session on Screenings Next Week?"]

[Excerpts] Prague— At the end of April members of the parliamentary commission investigating the events of 17 November [1989] told several more deputies to the Federal Assembly about the positive outcome of their screening [for collaboration with the former secret police]. In line with the relevant resolution of the Federal Assembly, these deputies now have the chance to quietly, voluntarily give up their mandates if they want to avoid having their names made public. According to our information, at least five more Federal Assembly deputies

have been identified as StB [State Security] collaborators, but gossip in parliamentary lobbies puts their number at as many as 10. The 15-day deadline for their voluntary resignation ends on 15 May. [passage omitted]

Next week, when the 15th joint meeting of Federal Assembly is scheduled to begin, we will probably bear witness to another session on screenings. [passage omitted] The continuation of the screening affair could be thwarted only by one thing—if the deputies in question give up their mandates by then. [passage omitted]

Pro-Meciar Strikers Formulate Political Demands

AU1305200891 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 7 May 91 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Four Ultimatums"]

[Text] The participants in the warning strike in Ziar nad Hronom [on 6 May] issued a statement, the gist of which resides in four points:

1. Passing a law of the Slovak National Council that would fix procedures for recalling deputies by their voters, if these deputies do not comply with the will and interests of the majority of their voters.

2. Amending the electoral law of the Slovak National Council in such a way that the deputies' electoral term becomes clearly formulated and its extension by the deputies themselves is rendered impossible.

3. The Slovak National Council must exert maximum efforts to speed up the passing of a law on the referendum in the Federal Assembly.

4. The Slovak National Council's rules of procedure must be amended so decisions on important issues concerning the interests of the majority of voters are made by the Slovak National Council plenum rather than by the Slovak National Council Presidium.

We demand that the above demands be met by 31 July 1991. We demand that the acceptance of the submitted demands be confirmed by a promise of the Slovak National Council by 31 May 1991. In the event of failure to do so, we will resort to an additional extreme measure. We remain on strike alert until the Slovak National Council confirms the acceptance of our demands.

Once the above laws are passed, we call on the citizens to support our demand for early elections to the Slovak National Council, which should be held prior to the end of 1991.

New Leadership of Largest Trade Union Elected

AU1105172691

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 6 May on page 3 carries a 250-word CTK report on the congress of the Metal Workers' Trade Union, the largest in the country, which was held in Prague on 4 May. According to the report, the congress adopted new statutes and established "three new executive councils—a Czech one, a Moravian-Silesian one, and a Slovak one." Alojz Englis from the East Slovak Iron Works was elected chairman of the Metal Workers' Trade Union; Jan Uhlir from the CKD Prague Company was elected chairman of the Czech Executive Council; Vladimir Komarek from Tesla Roznov was elected chairman of the Moravian-Silesian Council; and Jozef Krumolec was elected chairman of the Slovak Executive Council.

Slovak Union Leader Rejects Strike Action

AU1305201191 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 May 91 p 2

[Statement issued by Svetozar Korbel, chairman of the Confederation of Slovak Trades Unions, in Bratislava on 6 May]

[Text] "The strike alert contained, in essence, political undertones. The Slovak Confederation of Trades Unions gives unequivocal preference to the social aspects of societal relations; these are a common platform for all working people regardless of their political affiliation to or sympathy for individual parties and movements. The Slovak Confederation of Trades Unions cannot support actions that could lead toward breaking up the working people's unity and, thus, the trade union movement. Today—when social tension is rising considerably, when the adopted General Agreement has, so far, not been fully put into practice, and when it is possible to expect in the very near future even more negative effects on the public from economic reform—we cannot permit any action supported by us to damage trade union unity. Slovak trades unions have to give some consideration to who could benefit from the destabilization of the political situation in conjunction with social development in Slovakia."

Havel Visits Germany, Receives Award

WA1005163291

For reportage on the visit by President Vaclav Havel to Germany, including reports on his receipt of the Charlemagne Award for his contribution to peace in Europe and his talks with top officials, see the Germany and International Affairs sections of the 9 May West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Antall Addresses Party Coalition Conference

LD1105184591 Budapest MTI in English 1733 GMT 11 May 91

[Text] Budapest, May 11 (MTI)—The government coalition is stable and is suited to solve the historical tasks of Hungary's peaceful transformation. This was stressed at a conference held in Siofok on Saturday, at which leaders of the transDanubian (western Hungary) and Budapest organizations of the parties in the government coalition (Hungarian Democratic Forum, Independent Smallholders, Party, Christian Democratic People's Party) drew the balance of the year since the parliamentary elections. Present at the conference were Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, president of the Democratic Forum, Ferenc Jozsef Nagy, minister without portfolio and president of the Independent Smallholders' Party, and Laszlo Varga, vice-president of the Christian Democratic People's party. Varga said what is now needed is for the government and the opposition to agree in all issues that serve the interests of the nation. The government coalition is beginning to be unified, it is suitably operating, it has a role and a mission, said Ferenc Jozsef Nagy, president of the Independent Smallholders' Party. He noted it is particularly important to further intensify confidence between the parties cooperating in the coalition, so that the cooperating sides keep in mind the interests of the coalition and society, rather than their own party interests.

In a more than one hour-long speech, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said the parties of the coalition cooperated as partners and allies in the past year. It is my conviction, he said, that this coalition is capable of operation, and can only be broken up from within. Drawing the balance of the past period, Antall noted that peaceful transformation has its advantages, but it also has a price. Among the latter is that the imposing feeling of revolutionary transformation was not felt, and no changes in personnel have taken place in many senior posts to date. All the same, if we have chosen the road of peaceful transformation, we should acknowledge that its means are limited, Antall said. Antall said the conflicts within the coalition do not endanger the principal bases which connect the three parties: the creation of a genuinely European, independent and free Hungary. In conclusion, Antall called attention to the fact that even after the last soldier is withdrawn from Hungary, the Soviet Union will continue to be a neighbour of Hungary. "We shall offer a friendly hand to them, when they take our chains off," he said.

Participants of the Coalition Forum approved a position, in which they stress: The government coalition has, in the past year, proven that it keeps the future of the nation in mind, rising above party interests, and is thus suitable to solve the historical tasks facing the country. On the basis of their similar system of ideas, the parties of the coalition consider each other as natural allies. Participants unanimously called for the organization of the Budapest-Vienna World Expo in 1995.

Antall on Improving Relations With Romania

LD1205134891 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 12 May 91

[Text] According to the signs a favorable opportunity is presenting itself for improving the relations of Hungary and Romania. This was the main topic of the telephone conversation this morning between Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky and his Romanian counterpart, Adrian Nastase. The foreign minister reported this to journalists this morning.

Foreign Affairs State Secretary Ferenc Somogyi said that his Bucharest trip had a dual purpose. In addition to signing the air agreement [Open Skies], he conveyed not only a written but also an oral message from Jozsef Antall to Ion Iliescu, head of state. The gist of this is that the Hungarian Government is proposing to settle questions of key importance in bilateral relations. Jozsef Antall confirmed in his message that Hungary is ready to support Romania's joining the European cooperation, and that Budapest is not striving for the isolation of Bucharest.

Geza Jeszenszky added that with a consistent policy of small steps everything must be done to eliminate mistrust between the two countries.

Soviet Debt Reaches 2.2 Billion Rubles

LD0905121791 Budapest MTI in English 1023 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Budapest, May 9, 1991 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Soviet debt to Hungary has continued to grow in 1991 and at the end of the first quarter stood at 2.2 billion roubles.

Although trade between the two countries has officially been accounted in dollars since the start of the year, Hungarian companies which received export licences from the Ministry of International Economic Relations [MIER] before December 31, 1990 were allowed to export to the Soviet Union for roubles until March 31 this year.

As a result, the soviet debt, which was 1.6 billion roubles at the end of last year, grew by 500-600 million roubles in the first quarter of this year.

In 1989, when the Soviet debt to Hungary stood at 800 million roubles, the two countries agreed to convert the debt to dollars at a rate of 92 cents to the rouble.

The current Soviet debt will apparently be converted into dollars at the same rate but no agreement has yet been reached on the period over which the debt will be repaid or on the interest rate to be charged .

Frigyes Harshegyi, vice-president of the National Bank of Hungary [NBH], told MTI-ECONEWS that talks on these topics are continuing. The Hungarian Government

wants the Soviet Union to pay the debt within 2-3 years and the NBH intends to charge normal money-market interest rates.

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, wants to effect payment through the delivery of goods over a five year period.

The settlement of the debt is likely to be linked to the financial aspects of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Hungary. The Soviet Union is asking Hungary for 50 billion forints (660 million USD) for the buildings and other military facilities which they built here. Hungary is claiming 15-20 billion forints as compensation for the environmental damage caused by the Soviet troops.

MIER officials say that there are encouraging signs of improvement in Hungarian-Soviet trade.

Up to the end of April, Soviet importers opened only 100 million USD worth of letters of credit to pay for purchases from Hungary whereas Hungarian imports from the Soviet Union totalled 300 million dollars.

The MIER says that a more balanced situation is emerging with Soviet imports from Hungary likely to reach 300 million USD within 2-3 months.

Soviet Trade Figures Reported

LD1305115291 Budapest MTI in English 1035 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Budapest, May 13, 1991 (MTI-ECONEWS)—According to the Ministry of International Economic Relations (MIER), trade contracts worth a total of 3.2 billion USD [U.S. dollars] were signed between Hungary and the USSR from January to mid-April this year, although actual deliveries were worth much less.

Istvan Tamas, an MIER senior official, told ECONEWS that of the total figure, shared equally between imports and exports, 2.2-2.3 billion USD worth of the contracts cover products on the so-called indicative lists, which replaced inter-governmental agreements last year and outline products for which the governments undertake to issue export and import licences. Actual contracts are between the companies concerned.

However, because of the Soviet Union's payment problems, actual goods exchange was only a fraction of the value of contracts signed. MIER puts the value of Hungarian deliveries to the USSR at only 100 million USD in the first three and a half months of the year, while actual imports from the USSR amounted to 300-350 million USD.

These figures do not include rouble-accounted deliveries outstanding from last year. According to National Bank of Hungary [NBH] figures, Hungarian-Soviet rouble trade showed a considerable Hungarian surplus in the first quarter, resulting in a further increase in the Soviet debt from 1.6 billion [to] 2.1-2.2 billion roubles.

National Bank of Hungary figures put hard currency income from the USSR at 162.4 million USD and 40 million DM [German marks] as against spending of 189.8 million USD and 55 million DM in the first quarter of the year—a discrepancy with MIER data which, according to the NBH, is because the central bank's figures do not include trade-related transfers.

Government Announces New Agricultural Program

LD0905162191 Budapest MTI in English 1341 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Budapest, May 9, 1991 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The agricultural programme of the Hungarian Government envisages the privatization of the majority of agricultural enterprises and granting substantial tax and interest rate preferences to agricultural ventures.

The programme is one element of the four-year economic package masterminded by Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa.

Now that the compensation law has resolved the question of ownership rights, 70-80 per cent of Hungary's farmland and 35-40 per cent of its forestry will soon be able to pass into private hands, Laszlo Sarossy, state secretary at the Ministry of Agriculture, is quoted as saying in the latest edition of the Hungarian economic weekly "FIGYELO" (OBSERVER).

Under the programme, agricultural operations which can be undertaken by private farmers will be hived off from cooperative farms.

In addition, new kinds of cooperative will emerge in which members are landowners who will themselves organize the purchase of machinery and materials and the sale of their own produce.

Because of the way Hungarian agricultural exports are oriented (about 30 per cent of production is exported), and owing to their relative competitiveness, Hungary will continue to support liberal trade in agricultural products.

The state secretary stresses that besides having multilateral talks about the subject, Hungary also wants to improve the market access of its agricultural products at bilateral talks with the EC and EFTA members.

Liberalism is to be the guiding principle in domestic agricultural regulations, too, inasmuch as the government wishes to reduce the number of products whose export is subject to licensing, and seeks to make duties the main means of import regulation.

As regards financing the agricultural sphere, the government promises longer maturity loans, at least 50-per-cent interest rate preferences, and a new system of state guarantees.

Under the programme, agriculture and forestry are to be made exempt from profit tax: the loss in budget income

will be recouped through a moderate amount of VAT [value added tax] levied on foodstuffs.

Under the new streamlined land tax system, individuals or organizations farming prime quality land will be liable to higher land tax.

In any case, the new land tax system should be totally unbiased towards any organization or sector.

In view of the massive privatization of farmland and the emergence of a market for farmland, the development of an appropriate mortgage system is indispensable.

The government plans to regulate the legal, technical and institutional conditions of mortgage loans in a law, and will take steps to develop the appropriate institutions.

The government also expects to create legislation regarding a risk fund for agricultural producers.

Goncz Returns Encouraged About German Investment

LD0905221891 Budapest MTI in English 2050 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Budapest, May 9 (MTI)—Winding up his official visit to Switzerland and Germany, Hungarian President Arpad Goncz returned to Budapest on Thursday evening.

At a press conference held on his arrival, summing up his four-day visit to Germany, Goncz stressed that at the talks with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, he had received encouragement concerning Hungary's endeavours to become a member of the EC.

According to Kohl, talks on the fully-fledged membership of Hungary should be started as early as 1993 and there is hope that Hungary may join the EC between 1996 and 1998. Such a short time, however, requires speedy preparation on the part of Hungary.

An important goal of the presidential visit was to encourage the investment of German capital in Hungary. In this respect, it was a favourable sign that a lively interest was shown in Hungary at all stops of the president's tour.

A significant result is that the Stuttgart-based Sudwestdeutsche Landesbank and the Dusseldorf-based Westdeutsche Landesbank are to launch affiliates in Budapest soon, in order to improve Hungarian-German economic ties.

Another important event in the development of relations will be the visit of the Bavarian minister-president and representatives of banking circles to Hungary.

Hungary attaches great significance to its ties with the former East Germany, Goncz said. This is marked by an agreement concluded in Thuringia, according to which the relevant ministries are to form an organization developing the contacts between the German province and Hungary. The Hungarian Embassy has already taken steps to realize the co-operation.

As regards the president's visit to Baden-Wurttemberg and Bavaria, it was very reassuring to see the attraction of German capital to Hungary, much of it concentrated in this part of Germany.

Government Spokesman Comments on Screening Bill

LD1005174891 Budapest MTI in English 1159 GMT 10 May 91

[Text] Budapest, May 10 (MTI)—The Hungarian Government has drafted a bill to screen out leading public figures who worked for the secret service under Kadar's regime, were members of the special police in 1956-57 or of the state security service before 1956. (The special police were ordered to make reprisals against those who participated in the 1956 revolution.) The investigations will cover MPs, officials elected by parliament, members of the government, ambassadors, leading officials from the National Bank of Hungary, managers of banks with a state majority stake, high-ranking judges, attorneys and generals, all mayors, leaders of the general assemblies of local governments, heads of universities and college departments, still more senior academic staff, leaders and editors of the Hungarian Radio, Television, the Hungarian news agency and newspapers running to more than 50,000 copies, as well as managers of certain economic organizations.

Giving details of the bill, Home Office Minister Peter Boross stressed that the process of investigation, including the relevant data, would be treated as strictly confidential. The president of the republic, the prime minister, the president of the Constitutional Court and the speaker of Parliament are jointly responsible for deciding who should be subjected to investigation, in what order, and whether there should be any dismissals pending the investigation results or whether his or her past should be disclosed to the public.

The bill sets no deadline for the investigation.

Lieutenant General Antal Annus, secretary of state at the Ministry of Defence reported to the government on the Soviet troops pull-out. Addressing the Friday spokesman's briefing, he said that 93,373 of the 100,380 soldiers had been withdrawn, with no major combat force stationed in the country any longer, except for a mechanized ground rifle regiment near Debrecen. The lieutenant general said that in all likelihood the withdrawal would be complete by June 30.

Financial issues relating to the troops pull-out will figure on the balance sheet to be drawn up by June 21. Of the 50,000 million forints demanded by the Soviets, 22,000 million account for licensed flats, buildings and airports conforming to Hungarian standards. A further 27,500 million forints represent non-standard facilities built without license, only two per cent of which can be put to use.

The environmental damage caused by Soviet troops is being assessed by mutually agreed methods.

Reporting on the latest unemployment figures, Gyorgy Schamschula, secretary of state at the Ministry of Labour, said that in April, the number of those on the dole rose by a further 20,000 to 164,000, with the figure expected to reach 300,000 by the end of the year. The number of vacancies has also increased. At present, for every 10 unemployed people there is one vacancy. The situation is at its worst in Eastern Hungary. Of 1,000 people in Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg country 90 are out of work, with 80 in Nograd County and 60 in Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen County, where there is a total of 22,000 registered unemployed.

Answering a question on the 1995 World Expo, spokesman Balazs Laszlo said that the government had noted the May 9 negative decision of the Budapest City Council. It was now waiting for the outcome of the Vienna referendum, after which it would shortly submit the Expo-related bill to parliament. The deadline for decision making is June 5.

Soviet Deputy Arrives To Discuss Financial Ties

LD1405000491 Warsaw PAP in English 2052 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 13—"I have come to Poland to agree on a form of mutual settlement of accounts," Soviet Deputy Finance Minister Vsevolod Sitnin said here today after his meeting with Polish Vice-Premier and Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz.

By the end of 1990 Poland's surplus in trade with the Soviet Union amounted to 7.4 billion roubles while her debt totalled 1.8 billion dollars and 4.9 billion roubles. The Polish side also sustained losses of 4.5 billion roubles due to unprofitable investments carried by Polish firms in the USSR in previous years. Sitnin's visit is aimed to straighten up Polish-Soviet financial relations and to work out methods for boosting trade but during today's talks the sides failed to agree how 7.4 billion of clearing roubles owed by the USSR to Poland should be converted into dollars. As at present trade accounts are settled in convertible currencies, Soviet firms have no means to pay for Polish goods while the Polish tense budget cannot afford to credit the deliveries. On the other hand, Poland has to buy Soviet oil which has a negative impact on her trade balance this year.

Situation Deemed 'Complicated'

LD1405021891 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1730 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] How can accounts be settled with the Soviet Union? How can more than seven billion transfer rubles of the Soviet debt be converted into dollars? Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz and USSR Deputy Finance Minister Vsevolod Sitnin sought a reply to those questions with no effect:

[Begin recording] [First unidentified speaker] We are reminding you: Up to 1990 Poland had fallen into debt with the Soviet Union to the sum of $1.8 billion, as well as 4.9 billion rubles. At the same time, as the Polish side maintains, the unfavorable settling of the accounts of investments for Poland in the Soviet Union yielded Poland losses of about 4.5 billion rubles. Added to this was the Polish excess of exports to the USSR over imports of 7 billion roubles.

[Second unidentified speaker] The future (?has become) an important problem. As you know, trade has totally collapsed, and the situation is such that it does not indicate any clear prospect for the future. If it is a question of barter at an enterprise level, there is no agreement of the central authorities for barter could be carried out unimpeded. The situation is such that some barter transactions which have been proposed to us are, quite simply, unacceptable for us. If it is a question of barter at government level, the situation is even more complicated; it would really require the crediting of supplies to the Soviet Union. The same goes for clearing solutions proposed. In other words, trade has come to a halt because the Soviet Union does not have the means of payments to pay for our exports. Therefore, we are in such a situation where we cannot make a decision on credit supplies to the Soviet Union, as, in effect, it would mean exporting free of charge, as we do not know who would pay the Polish side for those goods and when. [end recording]

Joint FRG Conference Views Regional Projects

LD1305185691 Warsaw PAP in English 1517 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 13—Representatives of all Polish and German border regions alongside the Odra and Nysa [Oder - Neisse] Rivers met at a four-day conference in Lubniewice, Gorzow Voivodship, on May 9-12, to discuss concrete ventures leading to the realization of decisions adopted by the German-Polish commission for regional cooperation. Under agreements reached during the conference the Szczecin Province and Mecklemburg want to open for shipping the "Piast" channel on the Odra as well as to organize a joint tourist association on the islands of Uznam and Wolin. Residents of Gorzow and Brandenburg are to work on a plan of health food supplies for Berlin to be delivered from the Gorzow Province, to launch efforts to establish free zones on their territory and organize Polish-German economic fairs. Cooperation ventures discussed by delegates of Poland's and Germany's southern regions envisage chiefly anti-pollution protection and utilization of the Odra and Nysa Rivers. The conference was attended by EC representatives who presented the possibilities of assisting Polish-German ventures in the border areas.

Sejm Adopts New Electoral Rules

AU1305123091 Warsaw PAP in English 2252 GMT 10 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 10—The Sejm (lower house) adopted a new electoral law shortly before midnight today. The draft electoral law was prepared and presented to the chamber by the Sejm Constitutional Committee. Deputies voted over several dozen or so amendments to the draft for 1 and one-half hours.

In tune with the newly adopted electoral law, at least 391 deputies will be elected in their respective electoral districts. The remaining 69 deputies will be elected from national lists.

The deputies adopting the new law abandoned large electoral regions in favor of 35 districts, each with 7 to 16 mandates.

The law grants the right to vote to Polish citizens living abroad who have valid Polish passports. Inmates of prisons and detention houses will also have the right to vote. Voting will not be held however on Polish sea-going ships.

The Sejm also adopted an electoral law for the Senate, strictly based on the majority rule. This means that the proposal of the Constitutional Commission was rejected

by the Sejm, which chose instead the electoral law proposed by the Senate, which resembles the already-existing electoral law for the upper house of the Polish Parliament.

According to the legislative procedure, the electoral law for the lower house (Sejm) and upper house (Senate) must be approved by the Senate and signed by the president.

One hundred and seventy-two deputies voted in favor, 63 against, and 39 abstained in today's voting on the Senate electoral law.

In the afternoon the Sejm returned to the ecological policy of the state. It said that there was an urgent need for the completion of a package of ecological acts and executive regulations that will gradually move responsibility for environmental damage on the producers.

The Sejm also amended the electoral law for the communal councils. The amendments concerned the regulations on by-elections.

Permission Granted for Bureau of Free Elections

AU1405092791 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 May 91 p 2

[M.W. report: "The Bureau of Free Elections Is Operational"]

[Text] The Council of Ministers has granted permission for the Bureau of Free Elections to commence operations in Warsaw. This bureau exists on the basis of the Paris Charter for a New Europe, which was adopted at the 21 November 1990 CSCE summit. The bureau, together with its management and employees, will enjoy all the concessions and immunity provided by the 1946 UN convention.

The bureau was created on 22 April. It is one of three CSCE institutions due to commence operations by the middle of June. The other two are a secretariat in Prague and a conflict prevention center in Vienna.

The bureau's tasks are:

—Facilitating contacts between a country in which an election is taking place and any other country wishing to send observers to monitor the election;

—Collecting and disseminating information on election procedures in CSCE countries, election dates, and election results to other countries, institutions, and individuals;

—Organizing meetings and seminars on the subject of elections and various institutions of parliamentary democracy.

The director of the bureau is Ambassador Lucchino Cortese (Italy), and his deputy is Jack Zetkulic (United States).

The address of the bureau is 36 Krucza Street, Warsaw.

Constitution Said Not To Safeguard Human Rights

AU1305122791 Warsaw PAP in English 2025 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 9—Commenting on the Senate-prepared draft constitution, foreign experts said it contained too few articles to guarantee the proper implementation of human and citizen's rights in Poland.

Professors Herman Schwartz of the American University in Washington and Herbert Hausmaninger of the University of Vienna told the Senate Constitutional Committee today that the draft too frequently referred to future individual laws, and warned that this might entail some risks.

The bill is to be discussed by the Senate in two weeks but it will be probably passed by the new Parliament.

OPZZ Supports Solidarity's Right To Strike

LD1305232791 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 13 May 91

[Interview with Ewa Spychalska, deputy chairman of the OPZZ, with Magdalena Wieniarczyk on 13 May; place not given—recorded]

[Text] An opinion as to the nationwide protest action planned by Solidarity was expressed today by the Presidium of the All Poland Alliance of Trade Unions [OPZZ]. Ewa Spychalska, deputy chairman of the federation, spoke to Magdalena Wieniarczyk:

[Spychalska] It is with satisfaction that we note the actions of the government, the president, and the Parliament, which we consider to be—to some extent—the results of our own work, the protest action carried out since January, and so we expect the following results:

1. Changes in the socioeconomic policy of the government, the elaboration of which has been announced for 15 May;

2. We receive with approval the president's initiation of a debate on the socioeconomic policy of the state;

3. We respect the speaker of the Sejm and the Parliament for undertaking in such difficult times—and quite quickly, because it will take place already on 23 May—a parliamentary debate on economic matters such as has been initiated by the Sejm speaker.

All three matters of which I speak were sent in a petition to the government and the Parliament on 15 February as a result of the OPZZ protest action.

The Solidarity protest action announced for 22 May is an additional confirmation of the correctness of the actions undertaken so far and of the content of the postulates sent by the OPZZ to the government and the Parliament.

I understand that these are difficult times for rousing people to protest actions. We have experienced this ourselves, yet we believe that the results of this are good. We assess the state of our trade unions as positive. I understand the unease expressed during the national commission by some of our members—Mr. Palubicki for example—that they are unsure whether this action will be successful. Colleagues, irrespective of just how successful it will be, it will confirm (?to the members) the rightness of the direction taken in union actions, and it is surely for this kind of union action that the colleagues in the national commission of Solidarity are fighting. I believe: Better late than never!

[Wieniarczyk] Does this mean that the OPZZ is joining this protest action?

[Spychalska] For us, every organization is self-managing and independent, and we will not impose anything on any organization, so if organizations in enterprises undertake actions in support, then it is their right to do so, and they have every right.

OPZZ Protests 'Communist Structure' Statement

LD1405001391 Warsaw PAP in English 2050 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 13—The Presidium of the OPZZ All-Poland Trade Union Alliance welcomed the government's intention to make corrections in its socio-economic policy and the plans for a parliamentary debate and a meeting initiated by the president on these issues. These actions follow the OPZZ petition to the government and the Parliament of February 15 and also result from the protest action carried by the union since January, OPZZ Deputy Chairman Ewa Spychalska told reporters today. The OPZZ Presidium assessed the Solidarity protest planned for May 22 as another confirmation of the rightness of its postulates, Spychalska said adding that independent and self-governing union chapters may join the action. The OPZZ Presidium conveyed to journalists an open letter to the president protesting against Lech Kaczynski's statement describing the union as a typically communist structure. The unionists said that the statement indicated that a concept for delegalization of democratic structures was being worked out.

Solidarity 22 May Protest Call Rejected

AU1405093391 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 10 May 91 p 1

[Untitled commentary by Ernest Skalski]

[Text] At the meeting of the "Solidarity" National Commission two days ago, it was claimed that the government's policy course is universally rejected by society. That is not true. At the end of April, 67 percent of society said they approved of it. Prime Minister Bielecki was accepted by 68 percent, and Balcerowicz was accepted by more than half. Most of these views are not the views of people who are satisfied with the present situation, but of people who realize that there is no rapid way out of the state of economic collapse and that the government is doing what it can, more or less well.

The leadership of a trade union that cannot help working people is in an awkward position. However, protest action will not improve the situation: It will not improve the situation of the union or that of the country. "Solidarity" will not be able to surpass Miodowicz's National Trade Union Confederation in demanding higher wages, or Party "X" in offering ideas for achieving rapid progress. Spurring demands and sowing illusions that some other effective economic policy is possible can only bring about the collapse of what would already be the second "Solidarity" government.

If the present government is replaced by another, reasonably responsible government, then that government would essentially pursue the same policies, the only difference being that we would have lost time as well as the confidence that has been generated within the country and outside it and without which we cannot succeed. If those who possess miraculous recipes win, and they might, there will be an even greater crisis in store for us.

Everyone wants to mobilize before the elections, which "Solidarity" also intends to enter. It would be a very good thing if we were to be told how the goals that the majority of us accept are to be attained. Unfortunately, the campaign that is starting up is of the sort that we had in 1990.

Interior Minister on 'Secret Arsenals' in Katowice

LD0905093291 Warsaw PAP in English 2156 GMT 8 May 91

[Text] Katowice, May 8— "KGB did not need to organize a special network in Poland because the Poles are no good for it," said Internal Minister Henryk Majewski at a press conference here today to dismiss recent rumours about former security police's clandestine structures and KPN (Confederation for an Independent Poland) reports on secret arsenals kept by former agents in the Katowice region. These reports are full of "exaggeration," he said.

The minister stated that 2-3 pistols of unknown origin found in a gunsmith's shop whose owner had worked for the security service SB for three months in 1975 could hardly be called an arsenal, while other such reports from the KPN had not been confirmed either.

Majewski denied a few other rumours and said the information "coming from American and other" sources is meant to exaggerate the threats from the alleged underground groups and destabilize Poland's political structure. However, speaking to anti-communist veteran Kazimierz Switon, Minister Majewski ultimately refused to disclose the files of former SB agents and informers.

ZChN Comments on Eastern Policy, Minorities

LD1005012191 Warsaw PAP in English 2258 GMT 9 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 9—Spokesman for the Christian-National Union (ZChN) Ryszard Czarnecki told a press conference here today that his party believed Poland's eastern policy should, with the exception of the obvious reasons of state, adopt a rule that the attitude of the individual republics and nations of the Soviet Union towards Polish minority will determine the character of Poland's relations with these nations.

Our state treats Lithuanians, Belorussians or the Ukrainians according to the principle of equal civil rights, ensuring them the possibilities to develop their national culture, education and to preserve their tradition. At the same time, a considerable Polish community in Lithuania or Belorussia experiences unfriendly or even hostile attitudes, Czarnecki said.

Quoting some recent examples of discrimination the ZChN spokesman declared that his party will use every influence with the Polish Government, Parliament and Presidential Office to make Polish authorities apply reciprocity in its policy concerning ethnic minorities.

Bielecki, Balcerowicz Meet Press on Economy

LD1405034491 Warsaw PAP in English 2227 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 13—"We urgently need to pass 27 acts which are necessary to change the way the economy functions in Poland, among them ones introducing a modern taxation system—a key to building the foundations of a market economy," Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki told newsmen today at a meeting organized by the Polish Journalists Association (SDP). "But we face a sort of a legislative deadlock. Therefore, we have to change the legislative procedure," he added.

"Views on the transition from one economic system to another will be presented at the debate of economists in the Belvedere (presidential seat)" the premier said. "This transition is more expensive than one might have assumed at the beginning of this process," Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz, who accompanied Bielecki at the meeting, added.

"The economic performance in the first quarter of 1991 was indeed much worse than we expected with recession being a distressing phenomenon," Balcerowicz stated. He listed numerous reasons for this situation, the collapse of the Soviet market, a decrease in enterprises' profitablity, considerable material consumption and the slow pace of changes in the management structure among them.

"These factors make an impact on the state budget since tax revenues are smaller," the finance minister said. However, he did not agree with a journalist who stated that the situation of the budget was disastrous. "The budget is tight—its deficit was planned to reach five trillion zlotys in the first half of the year and it has already mounted to eight trillion zlotys. But we have managed to put it under control and it is not growing now," he told newsmen.

Another controversial issue that was discussed at the meeting was the recent recall of the deputy minister of health and social welfare from the post, resulting from his inconsiderate public statements concerning AIDS and homosexuals.

In this connection Bielecki said: "the employees of the ministry in question must be especially sensitive to various human problems, suffering and illness, this being a fundamental ethic principle for doctors. The government must take account of the interests of each citizen. Government members should not evaluate certain issues in public. This recall has not resulted from questioning views but has been caused by neglect in performing duties."

Statistics on Changes in Prices Reported

LD1405001791 Warsaw PAP in English 1944 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 13—Prices on consumer goods and services went up by 0.2 per cent between May 1 and 10 if compared with the end of April. In the same period, prices of foodstuffs went down on an average by 0.5 per cent (prices of butter, meat and meat products and potatoes went down by 1 per cent). As far as industrial goods are concerned, their prices went up by 0.3 per cent. In January prices went up by 12.7 per cent, in February—by 6.7 and in March—by 4.5 per cent.

Danish Daily Interviews Iliescu

PM1305152191 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 9 May 91 p 4

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by Michael Kuttner in Bucharest; date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Kuttner] You became president during the revolution, and almost a year ago the Romanians went to the polls, which, according to the majority of observers, passed off correctly. But how can you yourself suddenly drop communism and become a democrat after a lifetime's career in an authoritarian system?

[Iliescu] This is a phenomenon that is seen not only in Romania and in the rest of Eastern Europe. What about all the intellectuals in Europe after World War II? Even Alvin Toffler, who today is an international figure in the field of futurology and a democrat, was a member of the U.S. Communist Party. People's feelings are influenced by life. There is an evolution, a protracted process. Of course there are many who change color overnight. But for people with intellectual leanings, with a solid intellectual life, things are more complicated and take more time. I myself began to think along new lines in 1971.

[Kuttner] Was what happened in December 1989 really a revolution, or was it more of a coup?

[Iliescu] That is something that historians will discuss for the next 100 years. Even if it was a coup, it was a praiseworthy action. There was actually an attempt at something similar years ago. Politicians, soldiers, and others were involved. But they failed, that is the truth. Partly because it was impossible to initiate such a process from the top, as in the Soviet Union and other neighboring countries, and partly because repression throughout the country was so strong that it was impossible for groups with such aims to exist. Society was in crisis everywhere, and the population was desperate. There was only one alternative: the explosion in December. It was born of spontaneity. And in the provisional government we had to improvise our way forward.

[Kuttner] Over 1,000 people were killed in the fighting 15 months ago, the majority of them civilians. But hardly anyone has been charged, despite the authorities' promise of a thorough investigation. Will who shot at whom ever be revealed?

[Iliescu] At that time, when anarchy was everywhere, it was very difficult to say who was behind each individual movement and point to those responsible. Investigations are taking place every single day, but for the courts it is not enough that someone or other says something or other. There has to be proof. I am not a lawyer, so I too have asked why things are moving so slowly, but it was explained to me that this sort of investigation takes time and involves a great deal of work.

Take the murder of Kennedy, for example. He was the U.S. president and was killed in front of many people. But to this very day even the United States, which has such famous institutions as the FBI and its legal system, has been unable to find the guilty party. It would be good if the situation in Romania were cleared up, but everything was chaos, so it is difficult to wind up the whole affair in the course of one year.

[Kuttner] Shortly after the elections the whole world was shocked when you ordered miners to crush opposition demonstrators though the use of terrible violence. Do you regret this step?

[Iliescu] What you have said is incorrect. There was no question of calling in the miners or of an act of revenge against the people. Not at all. That is manipulation. The miners arrived 14 June, but the most dramatic events took place 13 June, when violent groups ran wild in the streets, set fire to police cars, attacked police headquarters, the Interior Ministry, and the television center. The population of Bucharest was frightened, not least because the police could not stop the violence. Policemen had, and still have, insufficient authority. They have a complex from events in December 1989. It was only the next morning that the miners arrived. The only deaths during the unrest—six people—were recorded 13 June. The miners had a positive effect 14 and 15 June; they helped the police restore calm and order. The population could see that the violence and the other illegal acts suddenly stopped.

[Kuttner] Are you saying that Bucharest was free from violence during the miners' visit?

[Iliescu] No, no, but I am talking about street thefts and that sort of thing. Some of the miners did allow themselves to be provoked. They went into buildings of political parties and the university and struck some people in the street. That is something from which we have naturally dissociated ourselves, as have the majority of miners.

[Kuttner] But you called them in, didn't you?

[Iliescu] No.

[Kuttner] You really didn't?

[Iliescu] No.

[Kuttner] Who did?

[Iliescu] You do not need to call in the miners. I am flattered by the accusation, because miners are people who do not allow themselves to be ordered about. They are very special people, with strong personalities and lightning solidarity. They work in difficult conditions, and they have firm principles. They were the first in Romania to rebel against Ceausescu, in 1977. After the events of December 1989 they felt that they had to be active. They asked the government why the police were unable to maintain order in Bucharest and offered to

come in from the provinces to protect the population and public institutions. And they did so.

[Kuttner] Romania has been a monarchy, and opposition researches indicate that 20 percent of the population would like to see King Michael return from exile. Would you support a call for a referendum on the question?

[Iliescu] According to the latest poll, only 10 percent support the monarchy. The majority of people are opposed to it because it is an old-fashioned institution poorly suited to promoting social and economic development in Romania. To be honest, monarchy is the opposite of democracy. Of course, there are countries where the monarchy is a tradition, a historical relic which does not have an active role in society. But it cannot be used to establish democracy in Romania.

[Kuttner] Could you foresee meeting King Michael?

[Iliescu] Personally I have nothing against him. I believe he is a modest and straightforward person. He is an old man. I do not think that he himself has grand plans, but those around him are urging him on. Particularly one of his daughters, who would like to be queen. He has received an official invitation to come as a private person, but he has declined. He said that he will only visit us as regent. I think that he has bad advisers.

[Kuttner] How long will you continue as president?

[Iliescu] As short a time as possible.

[Kuttner] Does this mean that you will step down at the next election?

[Iliescu] I do not know as yet. My mandate is for two years. Everything depends on the circumstances. It is far too early to settle the matter now.

[Kuttner] What do you think of the critical questions from the public and the press?

[Iliescu] I have nothing against criticism. It is necessary in every democratic society; it is an excellent medicine for responsible politicians. What really gets to me is not the criticism, but the lack of civilized behavior, the attempts to destroy me, the irresponsible attacks.

Interior Minister Ursu Interviewed

AU0905183791 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 3 May 91 pp 1, 3

[Part One of interview with Interior Minister Doru Viorel Ursu by Stefan Mitroi; place and date not given: "I Did Not Want Such a Function"]

[Text] [Mitroi] Mr. Minister, you are leading one of the most unpopular ministries. At the same time, you are one of the most popular ministers in the government. Please contradict me, if you can.

[Ursu] If you really mean it, then you have actually given me a breath of fresh air, at a time when, believe me, I feel rather worn out, both physically and psychologically, although I am not supposed to say that. However, I repeat, I am not supposed to say that particularly in public. Tell me, am I popular and am I also credible in your opinion?

[Mitroi] Well, here you have a reporter caught on the wrong foot. I confess that it is most difficult to answer that. However, I would say the following: first and foremost, you are popular. This assessment is based on information available to me.

[Ursu] It would be only right to find in my fellow citizens that minimum of trust I need so much, both as a man and a minister of the interior.

[Mitroi] How did you receive, almost one year ago, the news of your appointment to that position?

[Ursu] I have already told that story several times over. Therefore, I will try to be quite brief. About a week before my appointment, I was invited to the then government headquarters, of the provisional government, for a talk with Mr. Petre Roman. Initially, I was afraid that what I feared most was going to happen, namely an interference in the Sibiu trial, where I just made my debut as chairman of the panel of judges. The discussion was almost banal, there was no mention of Sibiu or of my appointment. We looked at each other; I was very curious to see a man whom I had only seen on television and he was probably studying me as well. Nothing else happened then. Now, when I recall those circumstances and the subsequent events, I think that Mr. Roman was probably thinking of the aftermath of the elections—which had just taken place—that is he was thinking of putting together a government team in case he was proposed for the position of prime minister. Then came the day of 13 June [the day of the Bucharest unrest, a prelude to the arrival of the miners on 14 June], a most eventful day, which I recall quite well since I had just left the court to collect my wife from her office. At around 1600, I was crossing University Square. The second day, in the morning, I was sitting in my office in the tribunal. A government car came by to collect me. My discussion with Mr. Roman lasted for 5 minutes. Things were quite clear. He told me that we wanted me to become minister of interior. He added that I could also turn down the offer, but that in dramatic situations like the one we were experiencing at that time, a refusal would not be welcome. Please, believe me when I say that I did not look for power and I did not want such a function; however, I could not turn down the offer, because I am very attached to the national ideals and I believe that there is a need for brave people in the difficult moments of a country's history, people who should assume responsibility. It was such a time when saying "no" would have been a cowardly gesture. After this very brief talk, I moved next door, into the cabinet room, where I also saw President Iliescu, in the flesh, for the first time. I was introduced to those present, after which the old management of the Ministry of the Interior came and said what it had to say. Around 1400, the news of my appointment was published. My parents, family, and wife heard it on the radio. I could not return home until the following Monday

or Tuesday, because, as you know, events heated up quite a bit. Afterward, I addressed myself directly to the country's Parliament. I had no office because this place where we are talking now had been broken into, smashed, and set on fire. This is just about all.

[Mitroi] There is no doubt that your appointment to this function has brought essential changes in your personal life, as a person and individual. What about your family life?

[Ursu] Indeed, quite a lot has changed since then, because I am very attached to my family, and I am not saying this just for the sake of making statements like this. My friends know me. Indeed, I suffer quite a lot that I have so little time to spend with my children at home. If I may say so, I have spent a lot of time on the education and schooling of my eldest son.

[Mitroi] Allow me to make a confession. I had the opportunity of traveling with you on two occasions, if my memory serves me right. Each time, you had one of your three children with you. You have three children, right? As far as I am concerned—although I was criticized in the press for this attitude—I was most pleasantly impressed with this rather unusual image: the minister of the interior going on a mission with one of his children, that is the symbol of the state force together with the symbol of purity, to whom he is genetically linked.

[Ursu] Just two brief clarifications. You must believe me that when we traveled together—I believe it was to Harghita and Covasna Counties—I did not have anyone to leave my eldest son, Cosmin, with; he was on vacation at the time and my wife, who also has a job, could not take care of all three children. This is the truth. Second, please believe me that my children are a balancing factor in everything I do. All the time I think of their image of me and I am often pained when the press lashes out with unjustified affronts and accusations at me and at the correctness with which I do my job.

[Mitroi] Given your position, are you sometimes worried about the integrity and safety of your children?

[Ursu] I am convinced that you, like me, love our country's history and are very well aware of the fate of our interior ministers, before and after World War II. Were I to think of that, I would be in a constant state of despair. Regarding my children, I must say that I took certain precautionary measures. Not something special, but nevertheless. Given the current state of violence and suspicion still characterizing Romanian society, I have reasons to be afraid for the safety of my children.

[Mitroi] Setting out from the fact that the police are the main component of the Ministry of the Interior, I would like to ask you, Mr. Minister, if the current police are totally different from the old militia?

[Ursu] You rightly noted that the police are only one component of the Ministry of the Interior. Sometimes I have the feeling that people forget that the Ministry of the Interior is much more than just the police. It is actually one of the administrators of social order and peace. In any civilized state, the Ministry of the Interior has broader prerogatives than the mere police function. I am constantly being questioned and attacked, although I may deserve some praise, too, at times—since I am not just the minister of police, but also the minister of the interior. It is true that, on the one hand, the Romanian police is the successor of the Romanian militia; after all, there were enough valuable elements in the militia, both from the viewpoint of competence and professionalism. For scores of years on end we fought against rapes, robberies, and corruption, that is against social distortions that the militia dealt with appropriately. That is why, to deny everything means to futilely wipe out a whole historical period, which also had its positive aspects. People realize and are aware of the difference in the degrees of safety enjoyed by the citizen at home and in the streets during various periods. Second, it is clear that what must be changed—and we are slowly beginning to do that—is the image of the policeman as user and beneficiary of social circumstances to the image of a man that must serve society, that is a man who is in the service of society. The Ministry of the Interior, regardless of the political changes, must remain the main institution in charge of preserving social order.

[Mitroi] Mr. Minister, when I put this question to you, I was primarily referring to mentalities. Do you think it unnatural that the Ministry of the Interior should also be criticized at times? Not only it, but also its head. Of course, I am talking about justified and decent criticism. Since other ministries are also criticized, why should the Ministry of the Interior enjoy privileges in this respect?

[Ursu] No doubt about that! Mr. Chief Editor, let us put our cards on the table. I am a great fan of your daily, therefore I want to clarify certain points. I like very much and I have always liked TINERETUL LIBER. It seems to me that your newspaper criticized me for allegedly blocking information to other newspapers, to the sole benefit of just one daily. This is not true. However, this has nothing to do with the suggestion that it is only natural to be the recipient of justified criticism. Moreover, you can note that in the months since my appointment, great progress has been made in presenting to the press the reality of our ministry, the people who comprise it, and the problems we are faced with. Therefore, we find it quite natural that we should present and also be presented with the exact facts as they happen. You see, after December 1989, there was an extraordinary—and I would add, beneficial—explosion regarding public information through the mass media. In this respect, the press plays a primary role. Another explosion took place in the activity of the Ministry of the Interior. To be absolutely frank, did this explosion bring you, journalists, only positive results?

[Mitroi] Definitely not.

[Ursu] This also applies to us. There is a huge sphere of action where a successful man, who proves to be a good professional, has nothing to fear from the press. Believe and understand me please—we want the same thing: we know and respect all those who criticize us in a professional manner. However, those who consider themselves to be the judges or, if you like, the bearers of democracy, must realize that they must also justify this opinion about themselves.

Ursu Interview Continues

AU1205174291 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 4-5 May 91 pp 1, 3

[Part Two of interview with Interior Minister Doru Viorel Ursu by Stefan Mitroi: "I Did Not Want Such a Function"—place and date not given]

[Text] [Mitroi] Mr. Minister, you have recently returned from France and, as far as I know, in a few days you are going to travel to China. What are the results of your visit to France? Why did you go to France and why are you going to China?

[Ursu] A minister of interior cannot be isolated. It is very interesting that virtually all ministries of interior throughout the world can find a common language more rapidly and more closely than can professional diplomats. You should not be surprised that relations of cooperation and collaboration can exist between two ministries of the interior. In our joint struggle against terrorism, organized crime, international crime, drug trafficking, prostitution, and other offenses, it is normal that police from all countries and people who work in the Ministry of the Interior get closer. I went to France on an official visit, at the invitation of France's interior minister. As a matter of fact, this visit crowned a series of meetings between delegations of experts and technicians of the two ministries. The meaning of the meeting was only a joint, long-term declaration in connection with the cooperation between the two ministries, which, for 1991, has materialized in a program of cooperation including the assistance that the French Ministry of Interior has granted the Romanian Ministry of Interior. This assistance will allow us to carry out our activities as approprite in a state of law. As far as the legal area is concerned, we presented very important documentary material and I hope that very soon we will be able to issue other normative acts in various areas of our activity. But to speak to the point, the concrete aspects of our cooperation will be: an exchange of information, an exchange of experience, and if you prefer an exchange in the inter-human relations respectively, an exchange of rest houses and of vacationing children. We established the foundation for a close cooperation in the area of telecommunication, in the field of ensuring public order—because the French also have similar problems—in the field of scientific and technological police, and in the area of preparing and training skilled personnel. We even received scholarships for higher education in Saint Cyr. Not to mention the fact that after the visit of a French delegation, our Police Academy was highly rated. Let me pause here and on this occasion thank you for your objectivity. In this way you facilitated certain scholarships for the best students. To my great surprise—and you can imagine what a surprise and what a joy—all three scholarships were won by students from the Police Academy. I am convinced that in no way was this a generous gesture of the newspaper whose head you are, but, on the contrary, a confirmation of the fact that serious work and true learning occur at the Police Academy. But, enough about ties with France. I can also add that this is the first time we reached the stage of signing such important official documents. I leave for China because not only we but also states with traditional democracy are very interested in developing relations with China. As far as we are concerned, my major goal is to achieve links in the field of electronics, radiophones, and radiotelephony. Likewise, we are interested in possibilities of getting assistance in equipping our Interior Ministry. I have noticed that as far as this area is concerned, they have very interesting equipment and why should I not speak clearly, much cheaper than what we could purchase elsewhere. More than that, whether we like it or not, the world can interpret it the way it wishes, China is a traditional partner of Romania and, at the same time, it is a great power in today's world.

[Mitroi] In connection with what you said before, what can you say about the current material supply of the Ministry of the Interior?

[Ursu] As you very well know, I had to turn to the Parliament for the smallest additional financial funds to be able to cope with our needs for equipment supply. But to mention something else as well, we wish to open one high school or the first of many high schools of our ministry, which for us, in the area of education means an additional material effort. After our talks with the French, we will purchase from France high quality equipment and other devices in the area of radio communications. I understand very well—even more than one would think—the efforts of the Romanian economy to ensure progress. Therefore, it would be absurd to request hard currency funds. I do not even believe that we would be given any because it is not available. Thus, we try to solve this problem by opening a credit line under advantageous conditions or by exchanges of materials that we succeed in producing. Well, I believe that the public is already fed up with hearing us say that we lack technical means. However this is the reality and we cannot solve the problem in a short time, thus, the other variant remains available, that is, to make a better use of our brains while firmly and resolutely embarking on work to properly fulfill our duties.

[Mitroi] I have heard that proposals were made to the effect that in villages the police should be replaced by gendarmes and the police stations be filled out with gendarmes. Is it a viable idea, and if so why do they keep postponing it?

[Ursu] This issue represents a great pressure for me, both from outside and inside the apparatus. I take complete responsibility for the answer that I will give you and I am telling you the following:

The structures of the Ministry of Interior are in the middle of a process of transformation, and, I could say not from one month to another but from one day to another. We are among the last ones to still have military ranks in the police. You know very well that there was much talk about transferring the border guard troops to the Ministry of Interior. The decision of the Supreme Council for the Country's Defense was published. In accordance with that decision guarding diplomatic objectives and residences will be intrusted to the Ministry of Interior. Meanwhile, the penitentiaries were transferred to the Ministry of Justice. The prime minister stated in the United States that the national archives should be transferred to another structure through ministerial channels. We cannot play from one day to another with laws and realize afterwards that we must change them. Thus, I am very seriously thinking of the judicial framework, which should be a perennial one. If I have to face pressure—even within the Ministry of Interior—I believe that this pressure stems only from the fear that appeared as a result of the post revolutionary events, when certain things were said about the former interior minister. To put it briefly: the law on ministries will be promulgated. It will include the statute of the state employee. We cannot approve a statute for policemen, gendarmes, or Ministry of Interior employees before a judicial framework on the functioning of ministries and a generally accepted framework for the state employees are established by law. After that we can state the specific category of Ministry of Interior employees. And there is another very important issue. I believe that it is good to have a basic law only after the constitution is adopted, because the constitution will include provisions both for the central and local administrative structure. We still do not have a clear picture about the organization of prefectures or about the commune councils, or whatever their name will be, with their elected representatives. Could we anticipate this issue by creating certain bodies that will not be included in a general administrative structure of the country? As far as your question is concerned about the gendarmerie in villages, let me tell you that even the French are having second thoughts about this idea. Actually, in France the gendarmerie is included in the structure of the Ministry of National Defense, but used by the Ministry of the Interior. In Italy, the carabinieri belong to the Ministry of National Defense but are used by and fulfill missions of the Ministry of the Interior. I believe that we must consider this issue very seriously because now we have the opportunity to set up more functional forms of organization than certain countries with tradition in this area. With our Romanian intellectual ability that I am sure we possess, we can find structures that can be undoubtedly at the same level with the European civilization.

[Mitroi] Mister Minister, because we have spoken about the gendarmerie, and things connected not just with the gendarmerie, I cannot help asking you a question of great current interest. As is well known, the phenomenon of University Square has returned. What is your opinion about it?

[Ursu] I can answer you at once. Talking about gendarmerie, people expect us to establish a rural gendarmerie but they forget that we are not capable of having a professional gendarmerie because we do not have conscripts yet. Can the state be expected to provide several thousand people whom we, speaking in a professional way should call gendarmes? I say that we should think very seriously before we start adopting legal measures that have no basis in the social or economic reality. As far as your question is concerned, we are interested in the respect for law and order because these belong to the rights of the citizen. Every democratic country takes exactly the same actions as we had taken. It is well known that in the West the times for demonstrations to begin and end are clearly set. The area where the demonstration takes place is marked with ropes. Nobody is playing with this issue there. I am sorry that our intervention was wrongly interpreted. I beg you to believe me, our actions have the sole purpose of ensuring public order and the observance of law, for the benefit of the entire population, both in Bucharest and throughout the country.

Mesic Stresses Cooperation, Negotiations

LD1405114291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0918 GMT 14 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, 14 May (TANJUG)—In this crisis situation it is difficult to predict what the year ahead will bring, and I cannot assume the role of a prophet. However, I believe that the upcoming year will lead to cooperation. This was stated today in a statement telephoned to TANJUG by SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic. In accordance with the established order of rotation, during tomorrow's formal session of the Presidency, Mesic should become president of the highest state leadership for the coming year.

For a long time we did not know who wants what, Mesic explains, but now this is clear, because many things have been decoded. Many unverified things have become clear.

This year, Mesic announces, we will find means to reorganize the way in which we live together. The operation could be short or long, but this is not the most important thing at this time . I do not think that there will not be any crises and crisis flashpoints, but their amplitude is declining, so I am convinced that there will be no armed conflicts and casualties. There will, of course, continue to be a political settling of scores.

We are approaching a more peaceful period and the possibility of a more peaceful negotiation process, and this, in itself, would be a good thing. I am an optimist, Mesic says, because it has been demonstrated that no one can impose solutions on anyone else. It has been demonstrated that solutions for all the peoples and republics and for this country can be reached only through a peaceful and democratic dialogue and respect for the views of others.

I see the future of Yugoslavia, Mesic stresses, as an alliance of sovereign states. I believe that this suits all because the interests of everyone can be protected through such an alliance.

Mesic believes that an alliance of sovereign states is the best solution because everyone is criticizing the federation and because no one feels good within it. Therefore, he says, it is logical that a new model is made and not that there is insistence on the old model. However, while this model exists, it would be a good thing to adopt specific items in Markovic's program. In this way, while this model exists, we would ensure the conditions for us to live in a better way and not simply to live from hand to mouth. Indeed, what is most needed for the functioning of the system during the negotiations should be taken from this program.

In conclusion, Mesic said to the citizens of Yugoslavia the same thing that [Bosnia-Hercegovina President] Alija Izetbegovic said at the last session of the SFRY Presidency—it is better to negotiate with moderate results, even frequently, rather than to engage in warfare.

TANJUG Cites Mesic on UN Peace Force

LD1305182691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1723 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, May 13 (TANJUg)—Stipe Mesic, presidency of Yugoslavia vice-president, today stated to REUTER that he would call for a United Nations peace-keeping force if a civil war broke out.

"First I would call for political mediation. If that failed, I would ask for other means as well. In that case I would ask for international military forces to come in to create a buffer zone so that we could continue negotiations," Mesic said. Mesic, a Croat, is this week to take over as Presidency of Yugoslavia president from Borisav Jovic, a Serb.

Although REUTER observed that Mesic was taking over a deeply divided country, with tanks deployed to keep apart feuding Serbs and Croats in Croatia and an economy on the verge of collapse, Mesic said that although he would face many crises in many parts of Yugoslavia, he did not believe civil war would break out.

Mesic said that no international military intervention was yet necessary, and [words indistinct] decision taken by the Presidency of Yugoslavia last Thursday to send the army into trouble spots in Croatia to maintain peace.

REUTER reports that Mesic told it he aimed to turn the Yugoslav Federation of six republics and two provinces into a loose alliance of sovereign states and to solve the country's crisis democratically.

Mesic: Army in Croatia To Relieve 'Hot Zones'

LD1305183491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1421 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Rome, Vienna, May 13 (TANJUG)—Stipe Mesic, Presidency of Yugoslavia vice-president, has stated in an interview published in the Turin LA STAMPA today that the Yugoslav People's Army "has the precise role in Croatia at this moment to restore legal order in the hot zones."

Mesic, who is to take over as Presidency of Yugoslavia president on May 15 under a procedure defined in the Federal Constitution, made the statement in reply to a question about the stand of the opposition in Croatia that the "massive presence of the Army in Croatia means that the Croatian leaders have made concessions."

Mesic said, "those who talk about (Croatia's) capitulation are political dilettantes."

Presidency of Yugoslavia vice-president Mesic recalled that a month's time had been given for the implementation of the latest decisions adopted by the Federal Presidency. He warned that, "unless the legal system begins functioning in the meantime, the Croatian police will resort to repression."

Mesic said that there "has been no civil war in Yugoslavia," and specified that "those who wanted to destabilize Yugoslavia caused conflicts between groups of rebels and the Croatian police."

Mesic said that a dialogue was still possible, but that there would be more provocations. He was, however, categorical in saying that "there will be no civil war, which is desired by the forces which are the enemy of both Serbs and Croats."

In an interview published in the Vienna daily WIENER ZEITUNG over the weekend, Mesic said that nobody in Croatia wanted a civil war.

Mesic replied negatively when asked whether, bearing in mind one of the latest conclusions adopted by the Yugoslav Federal Presidency, Croatian president Franjo Tudjman had refused him by rejecting the disarming of police reservists.

"The illegal 'haiduks' must be disarmed first, and then the arms will be handed over also [word indistinct] police reservist. They are civilians who are doing their job," Mesic stated to the Vienna daily.

Jovic Reviews Year in Office, Crisis Issues

LD1405104391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0913 GMT 14 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, 14 May (TANJUG)—The past year can be characterized as a period of conflict between forces that have been fighting for a legal, democratic outcome to the Yugoslav crisis on a constitutional basis and forces that have taken it into their heads to achieve their own separatist goals through a policy of the fait accompli, by one-sided decisions and in an unconstitutional way. This was stated to TANJUG today by SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic on the occasion of the ending of his one-year mandate as president.

When I took over the office of president of the SFRY Presidency on 15 May last year, I pointed to the danger of the constitutional and legal disintegration of the country and to the period of chaos that could follow after this, to the danger of an outbreak of civil war, and also to the vital need to call a halt to this in a decisive way. This statement was fiercely attacked precisely by those political forces that had in their programs the destruction of the Yugoslav state in an unconstitutional and illegal way.

The SFRY Presidency is not immune from the influence of the politics of those environments from which its members come. As a result, its work was made very difficult. However, despite the powerful presence of nationalist and separatist aspirations and the influence of this policy, in the Presidency, according to Jovic, there prevailed a constructive majority that protected the constitutionality, legality, and integrity of the country. Hence I can say that our public statements and our decisions and stances were basically in line with the democratic and constitutional method of resolving the Yugoslav crisis and oposed to political arbitrariness and the policy of the fait accompli, that is pushing the country into chaos, disintegration, and civil war, Jovic stressed.

However, unfortunately, I cannot say that this policy of ours and this activity of ours has also led to final victory. On the contrary, at least at the moment events are unfurling in an undesired direction, toward the dangers which I pointed out on 15 May 1990.

Why is this so? Because, Jovic explained, the forces which are conducting a policy of the break-up of Yugoslavia are using more effective means and methods and because they are assisted by the catastrophic solutions contained in the SFRY Constitution. This constitution in factual terms gives priority to the republican constitution over and above the federal constitution and to republican law over federal law, while the federal services are powerless to impose the legal system of Yugoslavia in a peaceful way. While separatist forces are exploiting to the maximum these constitutional deficiencies, the SFRY Presidency has used political methods of appeals and recommendations, still holding on one side the ultimate means available to it in accordance with the constitution. It seems that we reached a threshold when it became clear that no one was respecting our appeals and recommendations, and also that chaos and civil war cannot be permitted, Jovic points out.

The latest unanimous decision of the SFRY Presidency of 9 May this year, the president of the Presidency believes, could create a watershed leading to a peaceful and democratic road to the search for a way out of our crisis. If we ensure peace, I believe that we will also resolve the crisis successfully.

However, a peaceful road does not also mean that the way out has been found. After all, objectively differing interests and goals have not changed. A great deal of wisdom and patience but also persistence will be necessary to unravel this "knot". However, the differing interests and goals can be harmonized only in a democratic way, respecting the wish of the people and the equality of the republics when decisions are made. Each option that is adopted in this way will be acceptable to everyone.

In my opinion, Jovic said, the main difficulty in successfully resolving the Yugoslav crisis stems from the separatist and nationalist-chauvinist policies whose implementation is being sought at any price without regard for the interests and wishes of the people with whose support some political leaderships won election victories. Their insistence on these goals opens up numerous insoluble problems and also interethnic conflicts. We must be patient so this is understood and so changes are made gradually, whether through evolution within the leaderships themselves, or whether among the people, who will in any case at some time elect other, new leaderships that could win in elections on the basis of a more rational and healthy political program.

At this juncture, it would be completely senseless to engage in mutual warfare or to allow the senseless break-up of a state in the center of a Europe, which is living in peace and becoming united. By having such a conviction, all democratically orientated people in our country and all leaderships should contribute to the outcome of the Yugoslav crisis, Jovic said in conclusion.

Croatian President on Internal Conflict

PM1305151691 Paris LE MONDE in French 11 May 91 p 3

[Interview with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman by Florence Hartmann in Zagreb on 9 May]

[Text] Zagreb—[Hartmann] Is there now a risk of civil war in Yugoslavia?

[Tudjman] I am one of the few people to say that it is those who oppose a democratic political solution to the crisis who are trying to frighten us by brandishing the specter of civil war. Moreover, it would not be a civil war but a war against democratic Croatia.

[Hartmann] Following the compromise of the Yugoslav collegial presidency, has the risk of intervention by the army been removed?

[Tudjman] No, not completely. The Army is still deployed and serves the interests of a policy that is not in accord with the aspirations of Croatia or Slovenia. The Army's movements worry us but are futile. The whole people spontaneously halted around 100 tanks in Hercegovina and in western Bosnia.... A military intervention would merely aggravate the situation and speed up the disintegration of Yugoslavia and of the Army itself if it tried to start fighting.

[Hartmann] Is this a crucial period for the country's future?

[Tudjman] Yes, absolutely. The crisis has reached a peak. The action of Greater Serbian elements and Chetnik terrorists is aimed solely at aggravating the situation, provoking civil war, the Army's intervention, and establishing a state of emergency to prevent Croatian Stipe Mesic from replacing Serbian Borisav Jovic as Yugoslav head of state according to the normal annual rotation. This policy has failed and has intensified the crisis but, at the same time, it brings us closer to the inevitable solution in view of the determination of Slovenia and Croatia to defend their sovereignty.

[Hartmann] If Mr. Mesic eventually replaces Mr. Jovic on 15 May, do you think that Croatia will be saved?

[Tudjman] In fact the prospect of seeing the Army opposing democracy in Croatia and Yugoslavia will be considerably reduced.

[Hartmann] Is Croatia the target of a plot?

[Tudjman] Yes, we can see that clearly in the statements made not only by Chetniks but also by Serbian leaders. They want to expel the Slovenians from Yugoslavia and then to attack Croatia with a view to "annexing" it, to cite Mr. Seselj (the Chetnik leader—LE MONDE editor's note). It is obvious that this plot will fail thanks to the readiness of the Croatian authroities and the Croatian people's determination. Let us not forget that the Greater Serbia policy and the vestiges of the former communist regime are not powerful enough to impose their will even by force because the Yugoslav Army, which is not united, will be ineffective.

[Hartmann] How can you break the existing deadlock?

[Tudjman] Belgrade will be forced to accept a union of sovereign states or the Yugoslav republics will separate.

[Hartmann] There have apparently been provocations by Serbian extremists. But can you contain the Croatian extremists too?

[Tudjman] So far we have succeeded in containing them on the whole. There are extremist elements everywhere, in all the world's peoples. But if we succeed in making changes and in democratically solving the crisis, we will easily solve this problem. The important thing in Croatia today is that since the murder of the 12 Croatian policemen in Borovo-Selo, a large number of Serbs living in our republic have condemned the Serbian extremist policy and have declared their loyalty to the Croatian authorities. This is a very positive factor which shows that Serbian extremism in Croatia does not enjoy the support of the majority of Serbs in our republic.

[Hartmann] What are your relations with the Serbian president? Are you ready for more one-on-one meetings?

[Tudjman] Following the recent incidents and the terrorist actions against the Croatian authorities, we will only continue dialogue if the Serbs present positive proposals. We have always accepted dialogue with a view of reaching a democratic solution. I meet with Mr. Milosevic because he represents Serbia. But it is unfortunate that extremist Chetnik groups are infiltrating Croatia and that a Serbian minister came to our republic with Mr. Vojslav Seslij. There is a link between the Serbian government and the extremist policy; the aim is to overthrow democracy in Croatia at all costs and to question our republic's integrity. That is why we have accepted dialogue to prove to them that that is a crazy policy which merely widens the gulf and worsens the crisis. The agreement signed on 9 May by the federal president may demonstrate some easing of that attitude and show that the Serbs will finally be forced to open dialogue and seek a solution that suits everybody.

[Hartmann] What was the result of the direct negotiations among the presidents of the six republics on Yugoslavia's future?

[Tudjman] They did not produce a real solution, but they were not useless. The fact of meeting made it possible to

exchange views and find out the position of each. Through dialogue, we have tried to thwart the hegemonistic claims of some Serbian political circles. The sixth meeting in Sarajevo next week would enable us to outline the possible ways of finding a solution.

[Hartmann] A referendum will be held in Croatia on 19 May. Some people criticize you because the questions asked do not provide an opportunity to vote for Croatia's "secession."

[Tudjman] Yes, some extremist Croatian nationalists, those who only see things in terms of politics. We must act with caution. I think that the majority of Croatians will vote for a sovereign and autonomous Croatia that can unite with other republics—only if that is possible and without being forced to do it. Moreover, we are giving the Serbs in Croatia, who represent around 11 percent of the population, the chance of accepting a formula that would guarantee their civic and democratic rights in cooperation with Serbia, if it agrees. Consequently, the choice is sufficiently broad to suit the Croatians who advocate sovereignty and autonomy and the Serbs and all the other citizens of Croatia.

[Hartmann] Are you prepared to make concessions?

[Tudjman] We have made concessions because we are in favor of a union of states in the Yugoslav framework. We have accepted a compromise because we are not asking for Croatia's independence in the referendum, as the Slovenians did in their republic.

First Krajina Referendum Results Announced

LD1305160691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1458 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Knin, 13 May (TANJUG)—Of the total number of citizens who turned out in yesterday's referendum in Krajina, more than 99 percent voted for union with Serbia and others who wish to preserve Yugoslavia.

At a news conference for domestic and foreign journalists this afternoon in Knin, the first official information was announced concerning the results of yesterday's referendum in "Krajina," to be sure with the little proviso that they will be official when all the documents are certified by the central commission and a report is adopted by the Krajina assembly.

According to Ljubica Vujevic, chairman of the commission for implementing the referendum, 193,889 citizens were registered on the electoral lists, and 141,424 voters, or about 73 percent, turned out for the referendum. These figures include 11 municipalities, because the results have not yet arrived from the municipality of Glina, where the referendum, the journalists were told, was also a success.

Of the total number of citizens who turned out for the referendum, almost all of them voted for union with Serbia and others who want to preserve Yugoslavia, as was written on the ballot papers. Expressed in percentages, this amounts to more than 99 percent.

However, it should be said that 52 percent of the citizens turned out for the referendum in the municipality of Pakrac, 71.25 percent did so in Kostajnica, 73 percent in Vrginmost, 66 percent in Obrovac, 62 percent in Benkovac, and 92 percent in Vojnic.

After the announcement of the figures, a journalist asked what the next move after the referendum would be. Dusan Vjestica, one of the leaders of the Serbian Democratic Party and a member of the commission for implementing the referendum, replied, "when the assembly of Krajina adopts the report, we will inform all the republican legislatures and the Serbian Assembly." According to him, the Serbian Assembly can only note the expressed wish of the citizens and implement it in legal terms. He believes that this referendum, too, contributes to the resolving the political crisis in Yugoslavia.

Croatian Opposition Criticizes Referendum

LD1305135691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1254 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, May 13 (TANJUG)—The Democratic Opposition Forum (DOF), a non-party association of the Croatian opposition, today warned that the referendum in this republic scheduled for May 19 "does not fulfill the conditions for the democratic declaration of the voters."

The Party of Yugoslavs in Croatia today called on its members to boycott the republican referendum and issued a proclamation describing the referendum as "hasty and improvised."

The party set out that "Croatia is seeing the confrontation of two nationalist movements, with the manifestations of a real civil war." It appealed to members not to "take part in a referendum which is being held in such circumstances."

Two parallel referendums on Yugoslavia's political future have been scheduled in this republic, which is shaken by ethnic conflicts between the Serb and Croat populations.

The Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, whose independence the Croatian authorities refuse to recognize, already held its referendum last Sunday. According to the first unofficial results, the majority of the population voted in favour of annexation to the Republic of Serbia.

The Croatian authorities will hold an official republican referendum on May 19. Citizens who will be unable to vote next Sunday cast their ballots last weekend.

'Gradual Relaxation' of Croatian Tension Reported

LD1405004791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1941 GMT 13 May 91

[All place names as received]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, May 13 (TANJUG)—In the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia no major incidents were noted overnight and today, indicating a gradual relaxation of situation in this part of Yugoslavia where the recent ethnic conflicts between Serbs and the Croatian authorities were causing tension. [passage omitted]

Last night in the predominantly Serbian-populated town of Vukovar, an explosive device was thrown at a car, denying it completely but no casualties were reported.

During the night, Negoslavci villagers again [word indistinct] road-blocks and this morning they stopped also the buses carrying workers to their jobs in Vukovar and Borovo.

The Knin-Sin road remains blocked, while one lane is open on the Benkovac-Biograd Na Moru Road.

Vukovar Serbs Send Message to Government

AU1205203391 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 12 May 91

[Mirko Stankovic report]

[Text] The calming of the situation in the Vukovar area, where not one single incident was reported during the night and the morning, is, according to many people, as TANJUG reports, the result of the conclusions of the SFRY Presidency. This situation was also helped by the senior federal and republican officials who visited Vukovar several days ago and were acquainted with the situation which prevails in the town.

Otherwise, there are no traffic difficulties in the whole area of the Vukovar commune. All barricades have been removed, but at some key positions, policemen are stopping vehicles and carrying out normal checks of luggage and travelers.

[Stankovic] We are aware that more and more opportunities are being created by the Croatian authorities to present this region as a new flash point of terrorism and lawlessness to justify new militant activities and the genocide of the Serbian population.

All this actually began with the adoption of the new constitution of Croatia and the establishment of the new government of the Croatian Democratic Community and its attitude to the Serbian people. This truth must be reported to all international forums and their representatives must be permitted to directly acquaint themselves at the scenes of the bloody 2 May events in Borovo Selo.

Concerning the weaknesses of the new constitution of Croatia, it is said that the Serbian people have been deprived of collective sovereignty and thereby the ability to invoke civil rights because they are losing the right to work and the civil freedoms of: thought, movement, communication, the inviolability of the home, usage of ones own alphabet, and so on. Furthermore, the centralization and nationalization of virtually all administrative, judicial, police, and public affairs have meant mass redundancies among Serbs and particularly among those who are in management positions.

Bandits, terrorists, outlaws, desperadoes, and other pejorative names for members of the Serbian nationality are the usual weapons of Croatian Television and the daily press. Their responsibility is exceptionally great, it is said. The internal affairs minister of Croatia and his deputy, Josip Boljkovac and Slavko Degoricija, are primarily blamed for the bloody events in Borovo Selo.

The Serbs of the Vukovar commune are proposing that the Federal Executive Council [FEC] suggest to the Croatian government that it postpone the referendum scheduled for 19 May, stressing that the Serbs in this region will only accept an all-Yugoslav referendum on the fate of Yugoslavia. Considering the latent danger, the Serbs categorically demand from the FEC that public order and peace be maintained in this region by units of the Yugoslav People's Army and the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, for which legitimacy has been given by the SFRY Presidency's decision of 8 May.

Apart from a note sent by the Serbs in the Vukovar commune to the FEC, a document has been submitted that details are given of cases in which Serbian houses and business premises were shot at or bombed, as well as the demand that the Federal Secretariat of Internal Affairs carry out an investigation and that the FEC establish the scope of the material damage and the sources of compensation.

Slovenian Census Figures Reported

LD1405031491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1815 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Ljubljana, May 13 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia has 1,974,839 inhabitants, according to the first figures of the census in that republic published today.

The census was carried out in Yugoslavia from April 1 to 15.

The number of permanent residents in Slovenia increased by 4.4 percent compared with the 1981 census, i.e. at annual rate of 0.4 percent.

According to the census, Slovenia has 641,865 households and 155,379 farms, as Slovenian Statistics Bureau Direktor Tomaz Banovec told a news conference today.

Banovec underscored that the number of Slovenia's permanent residents has in the past ten years increased

by 82,975, of which natural population growth accounts for 69 percent and immigration to Yugoslavia's most (?developed) republic 35 percent.

Banovec said that the processing of the census data in Slovenia would be completed by January next year [words indistinct]. Banovec set out that there had practically been no boycott of the census in Slovenia.

[Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1211 GMT on 13 May adds: "Banovec said that, on average, there are 3.3 heads per household and that nearly one in four Slovene households owns a small-holding.

"Data about the national structure of the population in Slovenia are yet to be collated but no major changes are expected in comparison with 1981, Banovec said."]

Slovenian Democratic Reform Party Presidium Meets

LD1405002691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 13 May (TANJUG)—At its session today, the Presidium of the Slovenia Democratic Reform Party [Stranka Demokratske Obnove Slovenije] concluded that in Slovenia it is only this party and the Liberal Democratic Party [Liberalno Demokratska Stranka] that can lead political talks with all political parties at Yugoslav level. Demos [united opposition] was not in the least interested in Yugoslav politics because it was convinced that it would be more effective to establish contacts with Western Europe, it was stressed at the session, and added that the naive exclusion of the Yugoslav dimension in solving the crisis lead, on one side, to the isolation of this republic, and, on the other, to too closer links with the Croatian policy. Very quickly it became obvious that it was an illusion.

The Slovenian Democratic Party urges and advocates offers from international factors to participate in resolving the Yugoslav crisis, it was said at the session today. Regarding a demand from the Italian Liberal Party to revise the Ossimo Treaty, the Democratic Reform Party has decided to inform the Italian Government about its disagreement.

Ciril Ribicic, chairman of the Slovenian Democratic Reform Party heralded a meeting between opposition parties from all over Yugoslavia to be held on 15 May in Ljubljana, the topic of which will be Democracy and Freedom of Press. This topic is, as Ribicic stressed, important for all Yugoslav opposition parties.

Serbian Party Protests Sandzak Muslims in Forces

LD1405005791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1548 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, 13 May (TANJUG)—We are against mobilization and deployment of a reserve force consisting of the Sandzak Muslims outside the territory of their municipalities. We call on all members of the Muslim nation, whose legitimate representatives we are, not to respond to the mobilization call-up papers, because we are already sending recruits to the Yugoslav People's Army. This is said in a statement from a session of the Main Committee of the Party for Democratic Action [Stranka Demokratske Akcije] for Serbia, which was forwarded to TANJUG today. The statement is signed by Sulejman Ugljani.

The statement disapproves of a proposal on territorial organization presented by the Serbian government and demands that the Sandzak municipalities are treated as a whole. It was decided to invite European Parliament and Helsinki delegations to come and, as the statement says, see for themselves that the Muslims of Sandzak are in the inferior position and that basic human rights and liberties are denied to them.

The statement stresses that, inter alia, the Muslim nation in Sandzak is in jeopardy of physical annihiliation, so it was decided to set up the National Council of Sandzak [Nacionalno Vece Sandzaka], which will decide about issues of interest for the Muslim nation.

Serbian Vice Prime Minister Radivojevic Resigns

AU1305140891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Serbian Government Vice President Velimir Radivojevic has tendered his resignation to the Serbian Assembly. The resignation was submitted without explanation. According to the rules of procedure, the Assembly only acknowledges a resignation and does not discuss it. Radivojevic's resignation will probably be on the agenda of the Serbian Assembly session tomorrow.

Radivojevic came to this post on 11 February. Before that, he was the president of the association of arms and military equipment producers of Yugoslavia and the director of the Prva Petoletka of Trstenik. He assumed the post of vice president of the government after having been president of the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia in Moscow.

Let us recall, this is the second resignation in the Serbian government after the resignation of Internal Affairs Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic.

Serbia Registers 62d Political Party

LD1305215791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1227 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, 13 May (TANJUG)—The Serbian Ministry of Justice today handed over registration papers to the Movement for the Protection of Property Rights [Pokret za Zastitu Imovinskih Prava] which became the 62d political organization to be registered in Serbia.

The parties recently registered by the Serbian Justice Ministry include the Serbian Liberal Party [Srpska Liberalna Stranka], the Serbian Radical Party [Srpska Radikalna Stranka], and the LC [League of Communists]-Movement for Yugoslavia [SK-Pokret za Jugoslaviju].

Izetbegovic Views Economic Ties With Rafsanjani

AU1405085091 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 May 91 p 11

[TANJUG report: "Short Meeting With Rafsanjani"]

[Text] Tehran—Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani has supported comprehensive cooperation between his country and Yugoslavia, especially in the economic field and, within this framework, primarily with Bosnia-Hercegovina. This was stated by Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic at the end of his visit to Tehran. Izetbegovic was visiting Iran at the invitation of the foreign minister, 'Ali Akbar Velayati.

The day before yesterday, Rafsanjani had a short meeting with Alija Izetbegovic, who was accompanied only by Dr. Haris Silajdzic, republican minister for international cooperation.

As the hosts officially announced, the talks concerned "the promotion of relations between Tehran and Belgrade," in which respect the head of the Iranian state expressed the hope that "relations between the two countries will continue to expand."

At the end of his three-day visit to Iran, the president of Bosnia-Hercegovina visited the tomb of the founder of the Islamic republic, Imam Khamene'i.

In an interview with the TANJUG correspondent, Alija Izetbegovic assessed that lack of financial support was the main obstacle to promoting economic links between the two countries. The setting up of a joint bank, which is something that both sides are interested in, perhaps in the next month or two, would make it considerably easier to conclude agreements, Izetbegovic said.

The two sides also reached agreement on Bosnia-Hercegovina's purchase of 1.5 million tonnes of oil.

There was also detailed discussion on several large projects that firms from Bosnia-Hercegovina would be given in Iran, primarily in the sphere of industrial cooperation, technology exchange, and investment projects.

Communist Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina Formed

LD1205165191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1357 GMT 12 May 91

[Text] Tuzla, 12 May (TANJUG)—The Communist Party of Yugoslavia for Bosnia-Hercegovina [Komunisticka Partija Jugoslavije za Bosnu i Hercegovinu—KPJ za BiH] was set up in Tuzla today. It was formed through the merger of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the New Communist Party of Yugoslavia at a session in Belgrade on 28 April. The KPJ za BiH committee was elected, the seat of which will be in Tuzla. A proposal was made that Adem Omerkic, of Tuzla, be first secretary of the committee. An explanation was given that the seat of the committee should be in Tuzla because of its communist and revolutionary traditions and numerous working class, which again has its own party.

A statement from the merger session in Belgrade, signed by Vlado Dapcevic, was read out at the Tuzla session. The statement says that the merger of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the New Communist Party of Yugoslavia was inevitable because of their similar programs and an idea of socialism and communism as indestructable ideas.

FEC Provides Funding for Albanian Refugees

AU1405075291 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Apr 91 p 5

[D. Vucinic, V. Vignjevic, M. Malesvic, and I. Torov report on the delegates' question time in the SFRY Assembly on 25 April: "Who Is In Fact Replacing Kadijevic?"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] About 2,000 Albanian citizens of mainly Montenegrin, Serbian, and Macedonian origin have entered our country since 6 March. To provide material aid to Montenegro and Macedonia, the Federal Executive Council [FEC] has set aside funds from the current budget to cover the cost of temporary accommodation and food for Albanian citizens. The FEC contributed 10,000 dinars to the Montenegrin budget and 2,376 dinars to the Macedonian budget. In addition to this, the FEC will provide humanitarian aid of 2,000,000 dinars [figures as published] from the budgetary reserves for the second quarter of the year. The Yugoslav Red Cross and the Belgrade-based UN High Commission for Refugees are also involved in collecting aid. Not questioning the principled stand that the Albanian citizens members of our peoples should be accepted on entering our country, the republics and the federation must immediately take a clear political stand regarding the Yugoslav policy on how the problem of the refugees' status and their permanent care and integration should be resolved. This was stated in the answer to the question posed by delegate Dragoljub Jokic. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Democratic Alliance Holds Assembly

AU1405084791 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 8 May 91 p 6

[Blerim Reka and Emin Azemi report: "Continuing With the Peaceful, European Option"]

[Excerpt] Pristina, 7 May— The echo of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance's [LDK] first electoral assembly, held in Pristina's Alaudi Islamic Seminary on Sunday [5 May], is still being felt throughout Kosovo. During the one-day proceedings, the delegates approved a political declaration, made changes and additions to the Statute,

and reelected by acclamation Dr. Ibrahim Rugova as chairman of the largest Albanian political party in Yugoslavia. During the 11-hour session, after an extensive and fruitful debate over the main party documents, the delegates elected a 55-member LDK Central Council from 110 proposed candidates, while it is now expected that the LDK Presidium will be elected by secret ballot.

Defending the Truth With Arguments

The gist of all the political stands approved in the LDK's party documents can be summarized in a few words: The Albanians will decide their own destiny and will organize themselves as a state-republic within Yugoslavia, equal to the country's other republics. If Yugoslavia disintegrates, we will seek national unification. After the threat to Kosovo's Albanian political, national, and cultural identity, especially recently with the plans for territorial fragmentation and the destruction of Albanian institutions in Kosovo, the LDK's practical political activity must aim to protect these values. As was said at the assembly, it is expected that an Albanian national council will soon be formed. On the information and propaganda front, with the aim of showing the truth about the Kosovo tragedy and about the Albanians in general, it was proposed that the Kosovo Academy of Sciences and Arts should issue publications replying to the essentially anti-Albanian but allegedly academic publications of Belgrade. The LDK Assembly sent greetings to the exiled members of the Kosovo Assembly, while many congratulatory telegrams came to the assembly, such as those from the Democratic Party of Albania, the Party of Democratic Action in Novi Pazar, the LDK's branches in West European and Scandinavian countries, the United States, and Australia, LDK branches and subbranches in Kosovo, Zagreb, etc.

Breaking the Blockade

We will mention some main points in Dr. Ibrahim Rugova's closing speech. He said that after 18 months the LDK's assembly has succeeded in rallying people around a political platform. The LDK was born at a very difficult time for the Albanians, and within this period we have succeeded in freeing our membership from the initial state of euphoria, directing them toward the rational articulation of their political thinking. During this period, he said, we have to a certain extent succeeded in using arguments to break the propaganda blockade that Serbia raised round the Albanians both at home and abroad. Now, Rugova added, we are reckoned to be an important political factor in the country both abroad and by democratic public opinion at home. It must be emphasized, he said, that our party is often without reason labeled a ruling party, a police party, a party of conciliation, etc. I think that this political confusion at the grass roots has arisen because of the state of occupation that has burdened Kosovo for one year now, and the impossibility of our overcoming this situation more quickly. One major shortcoming has been the failure to hold free elections and the impossibility of each party's constituting itself as a legislative party with its own representatives. Criticism is welcome and admissible, but not criticism alleging that we as a party have contributed to this situation. However, confronted with the repression and violence that aimed to create chaos among the Albanian people by banning their media, the Albanians have not given way but on the contrary have cultivated an enviable level of political culture, as today's assembly has also shown. It has been our good fortune, Rugova concluded, that other political forces have also been created in Kosovo, Macedonia, and Montenegro. If free elections were held in Kosovo too, people would be able to align themselves to these parties' programs, thus also accelerating the general process of democratization.

The kernel of the seventh Albanian opposition party in Kosovo was also formed yesterday. The Initiating Council of the Party of National Unity [Partia e Unitetit Kombetar] held its first meeting and elected a 21-member presidium chaired by Halil Alidemaj, who holds a master's degree. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Alliance Elects 13-Member Presidium

LD1305234191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1206 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Pristina, 13 May (TANJUG)—The Main Committee of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [Demokratski Savez Kosovo, DSK], the largest party of Albanians in Kosovo, today elected its inner leadership.

In addition to President Ibrahim Rugova, whose leadership received overwhelming support at the recent electoral assembly, the current 13-member DSK Presidium also includes the following members of the old Presidium: Fehmi Agani, Bujar Bukosi, Alji Aljiju, Anton Kolja, and Redzep Djerdji. The newly elected members are: Zenelj Keljmendi, Edita Tahiri, Sacir Sacir, Ismet Salihu, Fadilj Hisaj, Skender Bljokaj, and Skender Kastrati.

The new Presidium is expected to elect its vice president and secretary by the end of the week.

One notable absentee from the new leadership is DSK former Secretary Jusuf Budzovi, who, in the absence of Ibrahim Rugova, used to chair regular news conferences and coordinate the DSK work in cooperation wih Fehmi Agani.

Following the electoral assembly, several DSK branches left the party to set up an initiative committee for forming a new political party to be called the Party of National Unification [Partija Nacionalnog Ujedinjenja]. The committee is headed by Haljilj Aljidemaj, a hard-liner within so-called Albanian alternative, who until recently headed the DSK branch in Pristina's suburb of Suncani Breg.

Average Salary in February 5,907 Dinars

AU1405075091 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Apr 91 p 23

[E. P. report: "Personal Incomes for February 5,907 Dinars"]

[Text] Belgrade— According to the information presented by the Federal Institute for Statistics at the news conference in the Federal Executive Council building yesterday, an average net monthly personal income that a Yugoslav worker received for February amounted to 5,607 dinars in the public sector, 5,945 in the business, and 7,945 in the non-business sector. In February, Slovene employees received the highest personal incomes (on average 7,462 dinars) while Kosovo employees received the lowest personal incomes (3,992 dinars).

Personal incomes fell by 0.2 percent in nominal terms in comparison with the month before last (January), while the cost of living in the same period increased by 11.5 percent. Net personal incomes in the business sector fell by 0.3 percent, but rose per 0.3 percent in the non-business sector.

The real personal incomes in February fell by 10.5 percent (in comparison with January) while they rose by 15.6 percent in the last two Februaries (this and last year).

Official: Transportation System Near 'Collapse'

LD1405015391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1922 GMT 13 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 13 (TANJUG)—Transport in Yugoslavia is on the brink of collapse, which is a direct consequence of the political problems in the country.

This was said at a meeting in Belgrade on Monday between Federal Secretary for Transport and Communications Jozef Slokar and representives of the transport departments of the Governmen of the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Serbia's province of Vojvodina.

It was assessed that the situation in transport can be normalized above all by the reahing of a political agreement, the Yugoslav Government's secretariat for information said.

With the observation that the situation was the most serious in Croatia, a request was sent to the representatives of all local authorities to take measures, within their competences, for the normalization of transport.